

**ACCOUNTING FOR THE DIFFERENTIAL GENTRIFICATION
OUTCOMES OF THE BO-KAAP AND DE WATERKANT, CAPE TOWN**

by

Albert Reitzema
RTZALB001

A minor dissertation presented to the
Department of Construction Economics and Management
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
MSc Property Studies

January 2015

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is my own.
2. I have used the Harvard convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this minor dissertation from the works of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.
3. This minor dissertation is my own work.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work
5. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment or essay or part of it, is wrong, and declares that this is my own work.

Signature: _____

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
LIST OF TABLES	ii
LIST OF APPENDICES	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	iv
1. INTRODUCTION	
1.1. Introduction to the study	Page 1
1.2. Background to the study	Page 2
1.3. Problem statement	Page 5
1.4. Research questions	Page 5
1.5. Research aim	Page 5
1.6. Research proposition	Page 5
1.7. Research objectives	Page 6
1.8. Research method	Page 6
1.9. Limitations	Page 7
1.10. Structure of the research report	Page 7
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.1. Introduction	Page 8
2.2. Urban deterioration	Page 8
2.2.1. The causes of urban deterioration	Page 9
2.2.2. The consequences of urban deterioration	Page 10
2.3. Urban renewal	Page 10
2.3.1. Goals for urban renewal	Page 11
2.3.2. Reasons for urban renewal	Page 11
2.3.3. Methods of urban renewal	Page 12
2.3.4. The advantages and disadvantages of urban renewal	Page 13
2.4. Urban renewal in Cape Town	Page 15
2.5. Gentrification	Page 17
2.5.1. Classical gentrification	Page 18
2.5.2. Production and consumption side arguments for gentrification	Page 18
2.5.2.1 Production explanations	Page 18
2.5.2.1.1. The rent gap	Page 18
2.5.2.1.2 Back to the city movement	Page 19
2.5.2.1.3 Back to the city but capital, not people	Page 21
2.5.2.2 Consumption explanations	Page 22

CONTENTS (Continued)

2.5.3. Contemporary explanations	Page 23
2.5.3.1 Globalisation, neo-liberalism and the changing role of the state	Page 23
2.6. The uneven development of gentrification	Page 25
2.7. The trajectories of neighbourhood change	Page 26
2.8. Conclusion	Page 27
3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	
3.1. Introduction	Page 29
3.2. The research framework	Page 29
3.3. Research paradigm	Page 31
3.4. Research design and strategy	Page 32
3.5. Procedure for data collection and data analysis	Page 36
3.6. Research credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability	Page 38
3.7. Limitations to the study	Page 39
4. RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	
4.1. Introduction	Page 40
4.2. Profile of key informants	Page 40
4.3. The Bo-Kaap	Page 41
4.3.1. The historical, cultural and social context of the Bo-Kaap	Page 41
4.3.2. The demographics of the Bo-Kaap	Page 43
4.3.3. The property market of the Bo-Kaap	Page 45
4.3.4. Investment initiatives of the Bo-Kaap	Page 47
4.3.5. The Bo-Kaap neighbourhood identity and community resistance	Page 50
4.4. De Waterkant	Page 53
4.4.1. The historical, cultural and social context of De Waterkant	Page 53
4.4.2. The demographics of De Waterkant	Page 54
4.4.3. The property market of De Waterkant	Page 56
4.4.4. Investment initiatives of De Waterkant	Page 57
4.4.5. The De Waterkant neighbourhood identity and community resistance	Page 59
4.5. Discussion on the research findings	Page 60
4.6. Conclusion	Page 63
5. CONCLUSION	
5.1. Conclusions and recommendations	Page 65
5.2. Limitations to the study	Page 67
5.3. Future research directions	Page 68

ABSTRACT

In recent years, the Cape Town CBD has experienced urban renewal and regeneration. The Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant, two inner city neighbourhoods adjacent to one another, have reacted differently to this process. De Waterkant is completely gentrified, and the Bo-Kaap not.

This research study aimed to demonstrate the contrasting potential and pace for gentrification and account for the differentiating gentrification outcomes of two neighbourhoods within the same city. Based on the literature reviewed and key informant interviews this study finds that gentrification does not develop as a single process. The pace and potential for gentrification is determined by the contextual particularities, investment opportunities and the nature and strength of the community.

In the case of the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant, the historical context directed the future potential for gentrification, while the respective communities currently determine the pace.

Keywords: Urban renewal, Gentrification, Bo-Kaap, De Waterkant.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Bo-Kaap ethnic composition	Page 43
Table 2: Bo Kaap education levels of adults over 20	Page 44
Table 3: Bo-Kaap monthly household income	Page 45
Table 4: Bo-Kaap property prices from 2009 to 2013	Page 46
Table 5: Average inner city neighbourhood house prices	Page 46
Table 6: Leasure infrastructure within the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant	Page 48
Table 7: Cape Town CBD ethnic composition	Page 55
Table 8: Cape Town CBD education levels of adults over 20	Page 55
Table 9: Cape Town CBD monthly household income	Page 55
Table 10: De Waterkant property prices from 2009 to 2013	Page 56

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Bo-Kaap community representative questionnaire

Appendix B: De Waterkant community representative questionnaire

Appendix C: Bo-Kaap resident questionnaire

Appendix D: De Waterkant resident questionnaire

Appendix E: Property specialist questionnaire

Appendix F: City of Cape Town representative questionnaire

Appendix G: Transcripts

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBD	:	Central Business District
CCID	:	Central City Improvement District
CID	:	City Improvement District
GPCID	:	Green Point City Improvement District
IMF	:	International Monetary Fund
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organisation

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Over the last four decades urban regeneration has been enthusiastically pursued by urban planners, private developers and government bodies across the world. This occurrence is also evident in South Africa where numerous urban regeneration programmes have been initiated since the early 1990s (Visser, 2002: 419). Until recently, the factors that defined South Africa's central business districts (CBD) and neighbouring inner city areas include decentralisation (mid 1970s), "white flight" from inner city areas (late 1980s) and institutional capital disinvestment (Visser and Kotze, 2008: 2565). These processes of decline are not unique to the South African urban context; internationally many former industrial cities have introduced urban renewal programmes to reverse processes of deterioration. One of the most controversial forms of urban renewal is the process of gentrification, a complex and varied form of urban regeneration (Visser, 2002: 419).

The term "gentrification" was first used by Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe the transformation of London's working class quarters into affluent residential areas (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008: 4). This definition described the process through which working class residential neighbourhoods were rehabilitated by middle-class homebuyers, landlords and developers. As a result, reinvestment of capital within the urban centre occurred and the original working inhabitants of the area were replaced by a more affluent class (Visser and Kotze, 2008: 2567). Doucet (2009: 300) states that in the forty years since the definition was first used, the nature and economy of cities has changed dramatically. Gentrification should primarily be viewed as an upward class transformation and the creation of affluent space. As a result, the contemporary view is that gentrification does not only include the upgrading of traditional working class housing, but could also include new building projects geared towards attracting higher income groups to the city (Doucet, 2009: 300).

Gentrification is an important process in regenerating the physical, economic and social characteristics of inner city areas (Visser and Kotze, 2008: 2566). It is however controversial, because it is both creative and destructive. Gentrification brings new investment to a neighbourhood, which makes the process seem necessary. As such, the

residents of the neighbourhood benefit from upgraded infrastructure, new amenities and the possibility of new work opportunities. Consequently, this has a positive impact on the economy of cities, as the tax base is increased through higher income households and new businesses (Trudeau, n.d.). The increased tax base further translates into increased property values and service delivery improvements (Atkinson, 2005). However, the new investment that gentrification brings also has a downside - the displacement of the original inhabitants. This is inevitable, as in most cases they are not able to afford increased rentals and property taxes (Trudeau, n.d.). The process often results in community conflict and loss of affordable housing (Atkinson, 2005).

Recent developments in the management of South African cities have caused significant urban change within inner cities, most forcefully seen in Cape Town and Johannesburg (Visser, 2003: 80). The introduction of Central City Improvement Districts (CCID's) in particular, has been a major driver in this change (Pirie, 2007). Other contributing factors include more traditional issues such as rental gaps between the inner city areas and maturing decentralised nodes (Visser and Kotze, 2008: 2566). In Cape Town, the consequences of urban change within its inner city have resulted in significant increases in property values and taxes, the migration of lower income families from inner city neighbourhoods; the attraction of wealthier residents as well as the attraction of tourism. To date, all neighbourhoods adjacent to Cape Town's CBD have been gentrified, with the exception of one – the historic Bo-Kaap (Donaldson, Kotze, Visser, Park, Wally, Zen and Vieyra, 2013: 175).

The main purpose of this research project is to account for the differentiating gentrification outcomes between two of Cape Town's inner city neighbourhoods: the Bo-Kaap and the completely gentrified neighbourhood of De Waterkant.

1.2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

According to Visser and Kotze (2008: 2569), the emergence of gentrification as an urban process in South Africa can be reviewed in two phases. The first ranging from the 1980s to the early post-apartheid years and the second from 2000 onwards. Literature on the first phase explains gentrification from the classical interpretation of the process where the typical "production"- or "consumption"-side arguments are used. The "production" side refers to the economics of the gentrification process and deals with the relationship

between the flows of capital and the production of urban space – a typical example would be the occurrence of rental gaps between inner city areas and decentralised nodes. The “consumption” side argument is more interested in the characteristics of the ‘gentrifiers’ and their patterns of consumption within the broader context of urban culture (Visser, 2002: 420). From this viewpoint gentrification is explained as the result of an alteration in consumer preference or choice (Smith, 1979: 539).

The second phase (2000 onwards) does not view the changing spatialities of South African inner cities through the lens of gentrification, but rather that of urban regeneration, linked to a number of urban regeneration policies and programmes (Visser and Kotze, 2008: 2569). According to McDonald (2008) the economic and urban policies adopted in post-apartheid South Africa are largely neoliberal in character and are intended to attract and retain service orientated international capital. It further encourages the socio-spatial restructuring required to establish new regimes of capital accumulation in the global marketplace. Although McDonald (2008) recognises that the specific forms of neoliberalism that have been adopted in Cape Town are specific to its social, political and economic past, the city’s overall approach to urban development is remarkably similar to other urban neoliberalism approaches elsewhere in the world.

Gentrification is distinguished as an identifiable process through a combination of social, physical and economical changes within a neighbourhood (Kotze and Van der Merwe, 2000: 39) but takes on different forms in different locations (Schaffer and Smith, 1986: 349). Trudeau (n.d.) states that gentrification frequently results in the displacement of the original inhabitants where developable land is scarce. However, there are examples of places in the United States of America where land is less scarce and gentrification has not had such a transformative impact (Trudeau, n.d.). Generally, the physical outcomes of gentrification are clearly identifiable through neighbourhoods with upgraded properties that are clean and safe. This feeds the economic change with higher property prices and associated property tax increases.

To capture the divergent gentrification outcomes, scholars have suggested that there is a continuum of gentrification. At the one end, gentrification generates a reasonable increase in neighbourhood reinvestment, resulting in little displacement. At the other end, there is an extensive investment that changes the neighbourhood demographics completely (Trudeau, n.d.). In order to curb displacement in gentrifying areas, Newman

and Wyly (2006: 47) suggests that the implementation of mandatory inclusionary zoning will hold the most potential in terms of public intervention. Private strategies are dependent on the individual landlords and residents. By accepting poor housing quality, high housing cost burdens and house sharing with other residents, many residents can protect themselves from displacement (Newman and Wyly, 2006). Home ownership is further viewed as protection against displacement, but as housing values increase and rising property taxes come into effect, it often makes it impossible to stay in the area. Community organisations could further be introduced to ensure the availability of affordable housing through housing production efforts (Newman and Wyly, 2006).

Many working-class communities have a strong sense of social cohesion and are associated with strong, local and social networks (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). However, when gentrification occurs these ties are weakened. The consequence is that those who lived through the displacement pressures, and are able to remain in their community, may be at a loss because of the weakening of the community ties through those who were unable to withstand the pressures (Newman and Wyly, 2006). Doucet (2009: 300) describes it as a divisive and disruptive process for local communities. As gentrification progresses, the original character of the neighbourhood, as determined by its demographic composition, amenities, commercial establishments and local institutions could be lost (Vigdor, 2002). Gentrification has without question a profound impact on people. Much can happen between the extremes that gentrification causes. The possibilities raise the hopeful question of how reinvestment in a neighbourhood can be shaped in ways that improve lives and create opportunities for the original residents (Trudeau, n.d.).

In recent years the economic, physical and social characteristics of the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant have been influenced by the urban change within the Cape Town inner city. It is clear that gentrification is a reality, irrespective of whether the cause of gentrification is argued from the classical “production” and “consumption” theoretical perspective or seen in the contemporary view as the outcome of the influence of neoliberal policy frameworks. What is not clear is why the two areas, situated in such close proximity, have reacted differently to urban change.

1.3. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem to be examined in this study can be stated as follows:

In recent years, the Cape Town CBD has experienced urban renewal and regeneration. The Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant are two neighbourhoods adjacent to one another and in close proximity to the Cape Town CBD. The impact of urban regeneration and changing policy frameworks within the inner city has affected both neighbourhoods differently. In the classic definition of gentrification, De Waterkant is completely gentrified, but the Bo-Kaap is not.

There is no clear answer as to why the two areas have reacted differently to urban regeneration processes. This presents a problem to urban renewal processes and the impact that gentrification could have on communities.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research question to be addressed may be stated as:

Why has the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant, two of Cape Town's inner city neighbourhoods, gentrified differently?

1.5. RESEARCH AIM

The intended aim of this research is to:

Demonstrate how a community impacts the potential and pace of gentrification in neighbourhood change.

1.6. RESEARCH PROPOSITION

The research proposition to be tested in this study is:

The existence of a strong community that reacts to, and resists gentrification is likely to slow the pace at which gentrification takes place within a neighbourhood.

1.7. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research objectives to be achieved are to:

- (a) demonstrate that the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant have gentrified differently;
- (b) determine the differences between the two neighbourhoods in terms of the historical, cultural and social context;
- (c) determine the variations in the roles played by households and developers in initiating and directing reinvestment;
- (d) establish the significance of neighbourhood identity and community resistance; and
- (e) account for the differentiating gentrification outcomes of the two neighbourhoods.

1.8. RESEARCH METHOD

The above objectives will be achieved by adopting the following research method:

- (a) a literature review on matter related to this study;
- (b) secondary quantitative data to establish the contextual differences between the two neighbourhoods;
- (c) qualitative face-to-face interviews with community leaders, City Improvement District officials, City of Cape Town representatives and real estate agents to determine the roles of households and developers in initiation and directing reinvestment in the area;
- (d) qualitative face-to-face interviews with community leaders and the City Improvement District to understand the importance of neighbourhood identity and resistance against change within the respective neighbourhoods;
- (e) analysis and interpretation of data; and
- (f) conclusions and recommendations.

1.9. LIMITATIONS

The study is subject to the following limitations:

- (a) Qualitative interviews will be conducted with community representatives only. The assumption is that these representatives fully represent the views of the community living in the area.
- (b) Difficulties may be experienced in securing interviews with officials from the City Improvement District and the City of Cape Town.
- (c) Due to time constraints and limited resources, quantitative data will only be collected from secondary sources.

1.10. STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

The research report will be structured in six chapters:

In **Chapter 1**, a brief outline of the research topic is given, followed by brief statements of the research problem; the research questions; and the research proposition. The aim and objectives of the research are defined, and followed by a short description of the research methodology.

Chapter 2 is a critical review of the literature relating to gentrification and the different outcomes of the process. This chapter largely addresses the question: What has other research in this field revealed?

Chapter 3 draws together the principal issues raised in the previous chapters, and proposes a comparative case study to address the research question: *Why has the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant, two of Cape Town's inner city neighbourhoods, gentrified differently?*

Chapter 4 comprises the analysis and interpretations of the case studies together with a discussion of the findings.

Concluding discussion is pursued in **Chapter 5**. This is followed by a full list of **References** for the research report.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

“Gentrification is deeply rooted in social dynamics and economic trends. Its signs, effects and trajectories are to a large degree determined by its local context; the physical and the social characteristics of the neighbourhood in question, the positions and goals of the actors, the dominant functions of the city, the nature of economic restructuring and local government policy. The study of the city should pay heed to this complexity” (Lees, et al., 2008: xv).

Gentrification takes place when a working-class neighbourhood or area of an inner city is replaced with inhabitants of a higher class. Although general features for gentrification can be identified, one has to acknowledge the complexity of the process. This chapter firstly discusses the concept of urban deterioration, the causes of urban decay and the causes that lead to urban regeneration. The concept of urban regeneration is then discussed as a prerequisite for gentrification.

The definition and broad overview of the various theoretical perspectives of gentrification, from its classical interpretation to the more contemporary view, is dealt with. The generalisable features of the process are identified and the realisation that gentrification unfolds differently in different neighbourhoods, is highlighted.

2.2. URBAN DETERIORATION

In economic terms, urban deterioration can be described as the decrease of public and private investment in a city (Engelbrecht, 2004). When the physical and social decay within a city is visible, Pienaar (1984) (in Van der Merwe, 2001: 5) describes it as urban deterioration. The physical deterioration of a city is the most prominent in that the buildings are neglected, are vacant and the urban environment is unpleasant. Social deterioration refers to the inhabitant's perception of the city, where crime and corruption are rife and no efforts in building renovations are undertaken (Van der Merwe, 2001: 5).

2.2.1. THE CAUSES OF URBAN DETERIORATION

According to Van der Merwe (2001: 5), the causes of urban deterioration can be divided into five categories: physical, economic, political, social and planning.

- Physical causes

The natural ageing of buildings is a reality in the physical deterioration of a city (Van der Merwe, 2001: 5). This becomes more obvious when buildings are neglected and not maintained or administered properly.

- Economic causes

The development of secondary urban centres influences consumer patterns. Wealthy consumers who own cars avoid the central city, while lower-income consumers who are dependent on public transport do their shopping in the accessible CBD. This results in a demographic change within the inner city that polarises the CBD. Younger middle-to-high income families leave the central city and poorer working class families are left behind (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982: 170). The demographic change brings about a fear of plummeting property values, which fuels disinvestment within the CBD (Engelbrecht, 2004: online).

- Political causes

The Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1966 under the old South African apartheid government demarcated certain areas within the city and reserved it for the use and expansion of separate ethnical groups. During this time the majority of inhabitants (black, coloured and Asian) lived in relatively unpleasant environments (Van der Merwe, 1986: 220). The white minority benefited from this, as the maintenance and upgrades of their areas were funded by government. This resulted in the deterioration of the majority group areas as they were responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of their properties (Van der Merwe, 2001: 8).

- Social causes

Once there is a perception of crime in an area, it has a great impact on the social and economic development of a city (Van der Merwe, 2001: 8). According to Van der Merwe (1986: 219), lower income groups and underprivileged inhabitants often turn to crime as a means of survival. This forces people to retreat into their

homes, leaving neighbourhood streets deserted (Van der Merwe, 2001: 8). Van der Merwe (2001: 8) states that when this happens a neighbourhood loses its cohesiveness and ability to act against social problems.

- Planning

The Groups Area Act of 1950 and 1966 under the old South African government that segregated areas within cities and reserved it for the use of separate ethnical groups is an example of urban planning that led to urban decay. Van der Merwe (2001: 8) also states that single-use zoning, for example an area zoned for commercial use only, is an illustration of planning that could limit the liveliness of a city as the area will be uninhabited after hours.

2.2.2. THE CONSEQUENCES OF URBAN DETERIORATION

Blighted areas are aesthetically unattractive to residents, investors and tourists. Crime and violence are often associated with such areas and the downward spiral of urban decay intensifies the causes of urban deterioration (Van der Merwe, 2001: 9).

The city is a multi-functional centre where transportation, commercial trade and cultural activities are operated from. The impacts of urban decay on these sectors are profound. No one would invest in a city where its services are not operated properly and where there is no profitable return. If this is the case people would simply move their businesses to areas where it is otherwise possible.

2.3. URBAN RENEWAL

“Urban renewal” is a term that originated in the United States of America and was developed in the 1930s as a programme to eliminate slums and create public housing (Doxiadis, 1996: 8). Renewal can be described as the restoration of something to its original state, or replacing an existing item with something new (Hawkins, 1984: 558). Urban renewal is thus the restoration of existing buildings and infrastructure to its original state. It could also include the replacement of existing buildings for new use (Van der Merwe, 2001: 2).

According to Couch (1990: vii), urban renewal is important for the following reasons:

- More people move to cities and towns. This results in bigger urban areas, which eventually age and the need for renewal and restoration thus increases.
- Urban sprawl towards the periphery of an urban structure leaves inner city buildings and the CBD abandoned.

2.3.1. GOALS FOR URBAN RENEWAL

Originally, urban renewal was only seen as the physical renewal of the city's buildings, parks and infrastructure. Later on it became clear that the process should be treated holistically and that it should also include the improvement of living conditions of the city's inhabitants. The renewal and restoration of buildings will have a positive impact in the short term but in order to make the urban renewal process sustainable, social development of the community is equally important (Van der Merwe, 2001: 18). Couch (1990: 1) states that cities are continuously changing as a result of economic and social fluctuations and urban renewal should be addressed with these factors in mind.

2.3.2. REASONS FOR URBAN RENEWAL

Urban renewal improves the physical appearance of a city and the quality of life for its inhabitants. According to Botha and Viljoen (1992: 10), the following reasons can be given for the renewal of cities:

- Health reasons
The upgrading of city slums in order to avoid epidemics.
- Social reasons
This ties in with the health reasons mentioned above. A community that lives in a healthy environment enjoys a better quality of life. Renewal includes new facilities, such as gymnasiums and community centres that create spaces for community engagement and interaction.
- Economic reasons
The upgrading of a city's infrastructure directly and indirectly creates more work opportunities for the city's inhabitants.
- Legal reasons

Land ownership, land control and municipal services are carried out with success and efficiency.

2.3.3 METHODS OF URBAN RENEWAL

There exist a number of different urban management tools that could be used to revitalize cities and encourage urban renewal. These include:

- Prevention

Neighbourhood associations, civic action groups or community leaders must promote preventative measures to decrease obsolescence through community clean-up drives and street improvements (Van der Merwe, 2001: 20).

- Zoning

Zoning can be used to prevent future deterioration of neighbourhoods by separating incompatible land uses (Van der Merwe, 2001: 21).

- Clean up, fix up

The Rental Housing Act no 50 of 1999 gives the government the power to rule that a property owner must make the necessary repairs to his or her property to fit the relevant housing standards. The example of one person cleaning up or renovating his property is generally enough to encourage his neighbour to do the same (Van der Merwe, 2001: 21).

- Revitalization and redevelopment

To curb urban sprawl, older urban neighbourhoods can be revitalized through redevelopment. This process will follow market conditions where there is an imbalance between demand and supply (Van der Merwe, 2001: 22).

- Incumbent upgrading

Renewal does not necessarily mean replacement. Incumbent upgrading occurs when a neighbourhood is physically and socially stabilised. When the built environment shows a degree of deterioration and is then upgraded, the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood remains the same as it is the original

residents that invest in the area. Neighbourhood associations can play a role to lead this process (Van der Merwe, 2001: 22).

- City improvement districts (CID's)

A city improvement district is an area in which its residents pay an additional monthly levy for top-up municipal services. These mainly include security and street cleaning services. The contributing levies may only be used for the area it was collected in (Van der Merwe, 2001: 24). According to Farr (2001) (in Van der Merwe, 2001: 24) the advantages of CID's are:

- The cost of providing additional services is shared by all property owners in the area.
- Costs are borne in proportion to the owner's property value.
- The CID creates a positive identity for the area and strengthens investor confidence.
- The CID promotes tourist investment in the area.

2.3.4. THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF URBAN RENEWAL

Urban renewal has the following advantages:

- Urban renewal enhances the quality of the general urban environment. The upgrading and re-use of existing buildings and infrastructure prohibits an area becoming dilapidated (Van der Merwe, 2001: 17).
- Existing economic systems and work opportunities within the city are preserved (Botha and Viljoen, 1992: 11).
- Renewal projects create work opportunities within the construction industry (Van der Merwe, 2001: 17).
- The location of the CBD remains the same and does not affect the travel time for commuters to and from the city (Botha and Viljoen, 1992: 11).
- Urban renewal acts as a means to provide housing. This is achieved through the conversion of buildings that were previously used for either commercial or industrial use.

- Urban renewal can be used as a method to increase property values within a specific area (Van der Merwe, 2001: 18).
- Urban renewal encourages communities to look after and maintain their properties.
- Illegally occupied buildings are eliminated through the process of urban renewal (Botha and Viljoen, 1992: 11).

Urban renewal improves the aesthetics of a city and it promotes the quality of life for its inhabitants. Every city is unique and has its own resources and problems that have to be addressed in making the urban renewal process a success. Theoretically, urban renewal can have a different meaning for each city, but generally it is concluded that the process has a positive influence on the urban environment.

In order to create space for profitable commercial and residential developments during the renewal process, displacement of the existing low-income households is often a reality (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982: 12). It is therefore necessary to be aware of the critique against urban renewal; these include (Van der Merwe, 2001: 19):

- The possible termination of neighbourhoods and community cohesion.
- The development of psychological burdens due to the involuntary removal of residents from an area
- Financial burdens associated with having to relocate.
- Property price increases.
- Property tax increases.

Heritage conservation is also affected by urban renewal. According to Donaldson *et al.* (2013: 174) heritage conservation is a result of new investment and thus indirectly linked to urban renewal. However, some critics of heritage conservation merely see it as a tool by investors to achieve an idealised aesthetic, as opposed to a more authentic cycle of incumbent upgrading. The architectural heritage aspects and significance of an area through heritage conservation is charming and relevant, but without the people (its intangible heritage) the area will lose the greatest part of its heritage significance.

It is often argued that the benefits of urban renewal will filter down to the lower social economic classes, but in practice this is hardly ever the case (Van der Merwe 2001: 21). In Thwala's (2009: 326) study of sustainable development and urban renewal in South Africa, community participation is listed as one of the key components for the successful implementation of urban renewal programmes. Thwala (2009: 326) states that most of the success of urban renewal projects in South Africa was achieved by using appropriate technologies and community based approaches to urban renewal where all interest groups in the community are identified and consulted. Private developers who purchase property without reviewing the area holistically should be avoided.

2.4. URBAN RENEWAL IN CAPE TOWN

A settlement of over 350 years, Cape Town has had its fair share of change. The city has been regenerating itself through phases of Dutch and British colonial control and postcolonial reclamation. The 20th century has brought about directed change in the form of population removals (motivated by health concerns and racism), the construction of dormitory townships (for black and coloured inhabitants) on the Cape Flats, and the suburbanisation of workplaces and residents to the north and south of the CBD (Pirie, 2007: 126).

A remarkable feature of the post-apartheid political landscape in South Africa has been the rise of neo-liberal thought and policy-making (MacDonald & Smith, 2004: 1461). According to MacDonald and Smith (2004: 1462) there has been a significant shift to neo-liberal policymaking and implementation at the urban level with the objective of balancing the bottom line and "running the city more like a business".

Although the specific forms of neoliberalism which have been adopted in Cape Town are specific to its social, political and economic past, the city's overall approach to urban development is remarkably similar to other urban neo-liberalism approaches elsewhere in the world (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013).

The decline of the Cape Town CBD has been the result of a combination of urban expansion since the 1970's and the substantial socio-political changes after the installation of the first democratic government in 1994 (Dewar, 2004: 95). In 1997 a group of concerned business people came together to discuss the urban decline within the Cape Town CBD. "They have recognised that investors required, inter alia,

economic growth in the region, competitiveness in the cost of doing business, a high level of business confidence, availability of infrastructure and skilled labour, a predictable operating environment particularly with respect to local authority policies, regulations, zoning and planning, a pro-business attitude in the local authority and a safe and clean operating environment” (Dewar, 2004: 98).

After a series of meetings and strategy sessions the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), a non-profit management agency, was established in July 1999 (Pirie, 2007: 128). The CTP comprises of representation from the city council, the Cape Metro Council, the South African Property Owners’ Association and private businesses together with their respective representative organisations. The purpose of the CTP was to lead and manage the regeneration of Cape Town’s central city and promote it as a global business, investment, retail and tourism destination (Pirie, 2007: 128).

The CTP began its practical interventions in November 2000 through the formation of a CCID. Funds are generated through a supplementary levy that all property owners within the area pay. The CCID uses this revenue for operations such as the enhancement of security for businesses and workers, and they provide a clean environment free of litter and grime. The operation has been very successful and made the Cape Town CBD an attractive place to invest and/or locate business (Lemanski, 2007: 451). The CTP’s success has further encouraged the creation of improvement districts in the adjacent inner city neighbourhoods of Green Point, De Waterkant, Gardens and Oranjezicht (Pirie, 2007: 128).

Private-public partnerships that have been created to assist in governing urban areas are not always welcomed though. In Cape Town’s case, concern has been expressed whether the CTP can serve the interests of informal entrepreneurs and homeless people (Pirie, 2007: 128). Visser and Kotze (2008) states that the CTP’s activities in the CBD and the spill-over effect it had on the adjacent inner city neighbourhoods have resulted in a processes of gentrification that has led to a series of positive and negative consequences. They include a significant increase in property values and taxes, the evacuation of lower income families from the CBD the attraction of wealthier residents and the attractions of increased tourism.

According to Lemanski (2007: 456) Cape Town's inner city urban renewal only pushed social problems beyond the inner city boundaries, rather than addressing these social issues as part of a holistic interpretation of upgrading the city centre. It has further been criticized for its conceptualisation of Cape Town's city centre as a private and financial enterprise from which the inner-city poor have been excluded and victimised. The city has launched a "clean-up" campaign as part of the urban renewal strategy in which vagrants, informal parking attendants, sex workers, vendors and beggars are regulated and strategically removed from its borders. This indicates an intentional strategy to promote investment and tourism at all costs, with less consideration for the social impacts on the poor.

It is therefore necessary to handle the urban renewal process with sensitivity and incorporate measures to accommodate the affected community in the planning of urban renewal.

2.5. GENTRIFICATION

The term "gentrification" was first used by the British sociologist, Ruth Glass, in 1964 to describe processes of urban change that were beginning to affect the inner city neighbourhoods of London (Lees *et al.*, 2008: 4). The definition described the process through which working class residential neighbourhoods were rehabilitated by middle-class homebuyers, landlords and developers. As a result, reinvestment of capital within the urban centre occurred and the original working inhabitants of the area were replaced by a more affluent class (Visser and Kotze, 2008: 2567). The Glass definition of "gentrification" has long offered some unity within the research (Lees *et al.*, 2008: 4). However, by the 1980s it became apparent that the term (as described by Glass) only explained one facet of gentrification. Since the term was first coined, cities started to reimagine themselves out of deindustrialisation. From there, inner city new-build projects geared toward higher income groups, such as waterfront redevelopments, hotel and convention complexes and retail and restaurant districts were constructed (Lees *et al.*, 2008: 9). This resulted in Smith and Williams' (1986: 3) argument that gentrification is:

"A highly dynamic process, it is not amenable to overly restrictive definitions; rather than risk constraining our understanding of the developing process by imposing definitional

order, we should strive to consider the broad range of processes that contribute to this restructuring, and to understand the links between seemingly separate processes.”

According to Doucet (2009: 30), “gentrification” primarily should be viewed as an upward class transformation and the creation of affluent space. The contemporary view is that gentrification does not only include the upgrading of traditional working class housing, but also new building projects geared towards attracting higher income groups to the city (Doucet, 2009: 300).

2.5.1. CLASSICAL GENTRIFICATION

The classical interpretation of gentrification refers to the type of gentrification that Glass described. It refers to the upgrading of disinvested inner-city neighbourhoods where the indigenous residents are displaced by pioneer gentrifiers and working-class housing becomes middle-class housing (Lees, *et al.*, 2008: 10).

2.5.2. PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION SIDE EXPLANATIONS FOR GENTRIFICATION

In the classical analysis of gentrification, two focus areas are evident. The first is a focus on the economics of the process which deals with the relationship between the flows of capital and the production of urban space. The other focus area is more interested in the characteristics of the gentrifiers and their patterns of consumption within the broader context of urban culture (Visser, 2002: 420). While this is a simplification of the discourse of gentrification, the two focus areas have respectively become known as “production-side” and “consumption-side” explanations of gentrification (Visser, 2002: 420).

2.5.2.1. PRODUCTION EXPLANATIONS

2.5.2.1.1. THE RENT-GAP

During the 1950s and 1960s low ground rents on the urban periphery triggered the movement of capital from the inner city to finance decentralised development activities. This led to the “devalorisation” of capital within the inner city and resulted in neglect, urban decay and the abandonment of inner city properties. The result was a decrease in

inner city land prices in comparison to land prices within the suburbs and formed the basis of Smith's rent-gap theory (Visser, 2003: 84).

Lees, *et al.* (2008: 61) describes the process as follows: *“Over time, urban development and expansion create a tension between ‘capitalised ground rent’ – the economic return from the rights to use land, given its present use – and ‘potential ground rent’ the return that could be earned if the land were put to its optimal, highest and best use. As the gap between potential and capitalized ground rent widens, it provides an ever more powerful incentive for land use change; residential gentrification is one way of closing the rent gap.”*

In Smith's analysis, the rent-gap is central to any theory of gentrification. When the gaps in ground rents are big enough, developers will realise the potential profit that could be made through the investment in derelict inner city areas and will unlock the potential by developing the area for new inhabitants. This “closes the rent-gap by means of higher and better use of land” (Visser, 2003: 84). According to Smith (1979: 456) gentrification is a structural product of land and housing markets. Capital flows to where the rate of return is the highest and gentrification within inner cities will take place because it attracts profitable returns.

2.5.2.1.2. BACK-TO-THE-CITY MOVEMENT

A location close to the CBD coupled with accessibility is a major factor in the value of urban land. This is illustrated through the bid-rent curve where the negative relationship between land prices and distance from the CBD explains that the further the land is from the CBD the more affordable it becomes (Heikkila, 2000: 81).

According to the neoclassical theory, suburbanisation replicates the preference for space, as well as the ability to pay for it (Smith, 1979: 539). Value of land is influenced by the time it takes to get from one location to the other, therefore land owners further from the CBD will have to be compensated economically for their increased traveling time. This is achieved by lower land values in areas located further from the CBD (Heikkila, 2000: 81).

When urban deterioration occurs, the CBDs start to decay and investment and retail companies move out of the CBD. Vacant retail and office space become available and is replaced with stores and informal traders aimed at lower income groups. Lower income households therefore move to the more accessible CBD, while affluent communities with vehicles can drive to the newly established retail or corporate nodes outside of the CBD (Engelbrecht, 2004: online).

The recent restructuring of cities, reversing the process of suburbanisation and bringing high-income residents back to the inner city, has a broader significance than the narrow “Glass” definition of gentrification. It is suggested that, in spatial terms, it reflects the restructuring of the labour market in cities, generating a cumulative polarisation between high-income, white-collar workers and an underclass of poorly paid, insecure employment in the service sector (Cameron, 1992: 5). According to Smith (1982), gentrification is part of a larger “revitalisation” of the core of the inner city and should be seen as a factor in the recentralisation of certain urban activities. This supports the back-to-the-city movement that trickles migrants from the suburbs back to the city.

The neoclassical theory states that real estate markets will be in equilibrium when land prices have adjusted to the point where all land uses are equally satisfied at all locations throughout the urban area (Heikkila, 2000: 81). This is again illustrated in the bid-rent curve, where land use patterns are divided in successive “rings” with commercial land use in the centre and residential and industrial land use rings further out (Heikkila, 2000: 83). The neoclassical theory of land use states that if equilibrium exists, there should be no middle class residents in the inner city (Van der Merwe, 2001: 32). The back-to-the-city movement, driven by urban restructuring, contradicts this theory and the process of gentrification is not at all what the neoclassical urban theory had predicted (Lees, *et al.*, 2008: 45).

2.5.2.1.3. BACK-TO-THE-CITY BY CAPITAL, NOT PEOPLE

According to Lees *et al.* (2008: 73), gentrification is the leading edge of the spatial restructuring of capital urbanisation.

“Gentrification is part of a larger redevelopment process dedicated to the revitalisation of the profit rate. In the process, many downtowns are being converted into middle-class

playgrounds replete with quaint markets, restored townhouses, boutique rows, yachting marinas and Hyatt Regencies. These very visual alterations to the urban landscape are not at all an accidental side-effect of temporary economic disequilibrium but are as rooted in the structure of capitalist society as was advent of suburbanisation” (Smith, 1979: 151 - 152).

Smith (1979: 540) states that the urban-renaissance has been stimulated by economic forces as opposed to cultural forces. The preference to make a sound financial investment or profit stands out as the one factor in the decision to rehabilitate inner city structures.

According to Lees *et al.* (2008: 73), the negative consequences of gentrification – rising housing expenses and displacement - are symptoms of the fundamental inequalities of capitalist property markets. These markets favour the creation of urban environments to serve the needs of capital accumulation often at the expense of the needs of home, community, family and everyday social life.

Contrary to classical theory, gentrification has proven that upper and middle class households can, and are willing to, locate to inner city neighbourhoods. The answer as to how willing they are, may lie in the amount of profit that is to be gained from relocating. Another theory that gentrification needs to explain, is why some neighbourhoods are more profitable to redevelop than others (Smith, 1979: 540).

Smith (1979: 547) concludes that gentrification is indeed a back-to-the-city movement, but of capital and not people. He further states that if the inner city continues to attract productive capital, the possibility that a fundamental restructuring of urban space, comparable to suburbanisation, could be witnessed.

2.5.2.2. CONSUMPTION EXPLANATIONS

The consumption-side arguments of gentrification focus on the characteristics of the ‘gentrifiers’ as being the distinguishing factor in understanding the gentrification process. This view further supports the idea that a neighbourhood must be “ripe” for gentrification but that the process is equally dependant on the separate phenomenon of a new economic community wanting to move to the inner city (Visser, 2003: 86).

This economic community is depicted as the “new middle-class”. It developed in the post-industrial service-based boom through access to higher income, education opportunities and a consumption-driven lifestyle (Visser, 2003: 83). Bell (1973) (in Lees, *et al.*, 2008: 91) describes the emergence of this “post-industrial” society through four key features:

- A shift from manufacturing to a service-based economy.
- The importance of science-based industries, such as universities, that replace factories as leading institutions.
- The shift to managerial, professional and technical occupations.
- The change in consumer culture led by artistic people as opposed to the media, corporations or government (Bell, 1973) (in Lees *et al.*, 2008: 91).

Within the field of consumer-side gentrification arguments, the characteristics of the different types of ‘gentrifiers’ and their reasons for gentrifying can further be broken down into different themes. These themes are by no means disconnected from one another but are an indication of the demographic shifts that impacts the gentrifying “new middle-class” (Lees *et al.*, 2008:93). The themes include:

- Countercultural identities, politics and education
The new middle class residents are looking for something different than what their parents might have sought. They are looking for a vibrant environment where they can live among “like-minded” people in an area that makes them feel both distinct and at home (Lees *et al.*, 2008: 94).
- Gender
According to Markusen (1981) (in Lees *et al.*, 2003: 99), gentrification is largely the result of the breakdown of the patriarchal household. Single mothers are attracted to inner city areas due to the practicality of being close to amenities and their workplace.
- Sexuality
The search for belonging and the realisation of community are on-going endeavours (Rink, 2008: 207). Gay and lesbian gentrification are explained by

Lauria and Knopp (1985: 61) (in Lees *et al.*, 2008: 105) as the “need to escape to an oasis of tolerance...” This is evident through the example of various “gay villages” that have emerged in urban centres across the world.

2.5.3. CONTEMPORARY EXPLANATIONS

2.5.3.1. GLOBALISATION, NEO-LIBERALISM AND THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE STATE

Smith (Lees *et al.*, 2008: 163) was the first gentrification scholar to draw a correlation between globalisation, neoliberalism and the changing role of the state in the study of contemporary gentrification. His argument is that gentrification has become a “global urban strategy” that is linked to a new globalism and new urbanism (Lees *et al.*, 2008: 163). Lemanski (2007: 448) defines Global Cities as cities that are “characterised by their dominance in world affairs, linked to population size and political, economic, social and cultural infrastructure”. As such, Global Cities require strong infrastructure, coupled with a stable socioeconomic and political system in which it can thrive as an economic centre. Global Cities are reliant on interconnected networks through which goods, information and people flow. These connections ultimately determine the nature of the world economy and it is clear that entry into the Global City stage provides access to significant prestige and resources for both the city and its national economy (Lemanski, 2007: 448).

According to Smith (Lees *et al.*, 2002: 163), the neoliberal state is an agent, rather than the regulator, of the market that expresses the impulses of capitalist production. The term “neoliberalism” is used to describe the strict structural adjustment policies that First World institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, imposed on countries of the Third World. Investopedia (2013: online) defines “neoliberalism” as:

“An approach to economic and social studies in which control of economic factors is shifted from the public sector to the private sector. Drawing upon principles of neoclassical economics, neoliberalism suggests that governments reduce deficit spending, limit subsidies, reform tax law to broaden the tax base, remove fixed exchange rates, open up markets to trade by limiting protectionism, privatize state-run businesses, allow private property and back deregulation” (Investopedia, 2013: online).

As opposed to the formal, regulated and sanitised city spaces of the First World, Third World cities are generally associated with a strong informal sector, a struggling economy, high population growth and crumbling infrastructure. In order to bring these cities on par with their First World counterparts, poorer cities have to prioritise spending scarce resources to promote their city in the global economy, often at the expense of important domestic needs (Lemanski, 2007: 448).

In an effort to compete in the global market, and the necessary restructuring it requires, cities are strengthening (intended or unintended) social and spatial segregation (Sassen, 1990) (in Lemanski, 2007: 450). An example is the automisation of factories, where the global demand for producer service industries supersede manufacturing industries, resulting in a decline in working-class skilled labour. The outcome is an economy requiring highly-educated professionals on the one side and unskilled submissive workers on the other (Lemanski, 2007: 450). This sharp divide in the labour market impacts class polarisation and takes on two key forms, described by Lemanski (2007: 450) as “...the categorisation and division of urban spaces according to investment and development...” and “...the separation of urbanites, according to income and class...”. Lemanski (2007: 450) further states that the already divided and poverty stricken Third World cities that are encouraged to adopt the criteria of First World cities for global competitiveness will likely be faced with increased social and spatial polarisation.

In recent years, public policy has shifted decisively in many national contexts. Gentrification is seen as the positive outcome of a strong real estate market and “the market” is always understood as the solution, never the problem (Lees *et al.*, 2008: 165). Due to intense economic competition and policy directives from national governments, cities are forced to apply sophisticated entrepreneurial skills to attract investments, new residents and tourist (Harvey, 1989b) (in Lees *et al.*, 2008: 165).

Lemanski (2007: 450) states the following: “*In a city that is being marketed (often by both external agents and domestic municipal and business leaders) as a key global player, the goal of urban regeneration is often not urban revival per se, but to undertake whatever is necessary to attract investment.*”

In a macro-economic sense the activity of property development can be considered to assist in:

- Regenerating the local economy.
- Using assets available in the production process more efficiently to obtain greater economic growth.
- Achieving profitability from an investor/developer point of view.

According to Isaac (1996: 9) the role of property development in the economy is:

- To revitalise the economy by encouraging investment.
- To use the assets available in the production process to obtain greater economic growth and add value.

2.6. THE UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF GENTRIFICATION

At the urban scale the main pattern of uneven development lies in the relation between the suburbs and the inner city. Smith (1982: 144) states that the economic force responsible for mediating this relation is ground rent: *"It is the equalisation and differentiation of ground rent levels between different places in the metropolitan region that most determines the unevenness of development"*. According to Smith (1982:144), the geographical differentiation between class and race in residential land use are translated through the ground rent structure.

The investment of capital in the inner city causes a physical and economic barrier for further investment. Because of the long turnover period of the built environment, the movement of capital will flow to other areas where potential capital gains can be unlocked. Once this is achieved the systematic devalorisation of the inner city area will emerge. Over time, this will be reversed through the development of a rent-gap, and the creation of new investment opportunities will again develop in the inner city (Smith, 1982: 149).

Smith (1982: 149) argues that capital always seeks an investment where the profit rate remains comparatively high and the risk is low. If market conditions are right, investment in the built environment will follow. This is seen through the historic property booms that have affected a number of cities throughout the advanced capitalist world. The question

of where the capital will flow into the built environment has no definite answer, as it is dependent on the geographical patterns created in previous economic booms.

The result is thus an uneven development of the urban scale, and with it, it brings the phenomenon of gentrification. Like suburbanisation, the redevelopment and renewal of inner cities function as a substantial source of profit. Gentrification is part of the restructuring of inner city residential space and operates primarily to counteract the falling rate of profit (Smith, 1982: 149).

2.7. THE TRAJECTORIES OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

Early studies of gentrification mainly focused on single neighbourhoods, which were seldom compared with each other or with non-gentrifying neighbourhoods. Little attention was directed at the differing dynamics of neighbourhood change (Beauregard, 1990: 588). Beauregard (1990: 588) argues that gentrification, seemingly a single transformation of neighbourhood change, actually comprise multiple processes. This argument is based on the premise that neighbourhoods are struck by two sets of antagonistic forces described as: *“...the tension between accumulation and community...”* and *“...the problematic intersection of contextual or structural forces with the particularities of place”* (Beauregard, 1990: 588).

Neighbourhoods are both places of “community” as well as places where households and investors gather wealth and accumulate profits. The formation of “community” is often difficult when interclass inhabitants have to attempt to create social bonds, a public image and norms of behaviour that define the neighbourhood as their home. The search for community further becomes intertwined with the exchange value of property, perplexing the basis on which the struggle occurs. When investors discover the potential for development in a neighbourhood, the community is often threatened and the territorial control by long-term residents become problematic (Beauregard, 1990: 856).

Each neighbourhood has particularities that shape investment opportunities and channel contextual forces into a series of contingent place specific processes (Beauregard, 1990: 856). The result of the interaction between accumulation and community with structure and place will have a significant variance in the pace and potential for gentrification in different neighbourhoods. Beauregard (1990: 856) states that potential for gentrification

is not just simply equal to the rent gap. The potential for gentrification is rather a function of accumulation opportunities and the nature and strength of the community within a neighbourhood. Where a community is embedded and has control over accumulation in the form of home ownership, for example, the pace and potential for gentrification might be reduced. The opposing side is also true where a strong community might promote the image of the neighbourhood and generate a range of services and activities that will increase the gentrification potential (Beauregard, 1990: 856). This is displayed in Garside's (1993) study on gentrification in Cape Town's Woodstock neighbourhood. A strong existing community petitioned against a racially segregated neighbourhood, coloured professionals moved into the area and processes of urban renewal, of which gentrification is part, ensued.

The interplay between pace and potential and accumulation and community directs the significance of the process of gentrification. Beauregard (1990: 871) states that gentrification does not unfold as a single process. Different neighbourhoods, even within the same city, involve different role players and gentrification proceeds with varying consequences.

2.8. CONCLUSION

Urban renewal processes enhances the aesthetics of a city, but it is ultimately supposed to be a method of improving the quality of life for its inhabitants. Each city is unique and has its own resources and problems that have to be contextualised in order to make a success of urban renewal initiatives. As a result, gentrification will thus not unfold similarly in different cities (Beauregard, 1986: 53). Due to its complexity, cities experience gentrification in different ways. (Visser, 2003: 88). The fact that a variety of role players can be responsible for initiating and executing the process within a unique neighbourhood context is the reason for its complexity and divergent outcome.

The most common version of gentrification is that in which a dilapidated neighbourhood is invaded by "pioneers" and the process accelerates as gentry, along with small investors, financial institutions and construction firms participate in the acquisition and rehabilitation of single family homes. A totally different dynamic is at play when large scale developers and speculators buy multifamily housing in an area and transform it into

luxury apartments. Similarly, another dynamic of gentrification will be evident in which a local government takes initiative through urban renewal projects (Beauregard, 1986: 53).

Each of these processes brings together the various role players and conditions in a different manner with varying implications for the distribution of the subsequent financial and social benefits and costs (Beauregard, 1986: 53).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to account for the differentiating gentrification outcomes of two inner city neighbourhoods in Cape Town. In addressing the research questions this chapter describes the procedural framework within which the research will be conducted.

The overall research approach is discussed, followed by an explanation of the underlying research philosophy that is adopted. The research design and strategy give a detailed account of how the research will be undertaken and the procedures for data collection and data analysis are discussed. In addition, this chapter also touches on the issues of research credibility and the limitations to the study are highlighted.

3.2. THE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

In designing the research plan, Creswell (2003: 3) recommends that firstly, a general framework has to be adopted. The framework is represented by three different approaches to research and include qualitative, quantitative and mixed method (both qualitative and quantitative) approaches. Once the framework is adopted, it will provide guidance about all facets of the study; from assessing the general philosophical ideas, selecting the correct research strategy, undertaking the right data collection procedures and the data analysis (Creswell, 2003: 3).

At one level, adopting a qualitative or quantitative research approach refer to the distinctions about the nature of knowledge: how one understands the subject matter and the ultimate purpose of the research. On another level, the terms qualitative and quantitative refer to a research method, that is, how the data will be collected and analysed and the type of generalisations and representations that will result from the data (Thomas, 2010: 301).

At a basic level, quantitative research is described as *“the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomena that these observations reflect”* (Babbie, 1983) (in English *et al.*, 2006: 289). Qualitative research on the other hand is described as *“the non-numerical examination*

and interpretation of observation for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships” (Babbie, 1983) (in English et al., 2006: 289).

Quantitative research methods often seek causes and relationships which are illustrated statistically in a process where a hypothesis is tested. Qualitative research methods discover meanings as experienced by the respondents in the study which is achieved through inductive analysis (English et al., 2006: 289). Neither of the methods is fundamentally better than the other as the context, purpose and nature of the study will determine the approach to follow (Thomas, 2010: 202).

Many methodologists argue that a mixture of a quantitative and qualitative approach can be usefully employed to take full advantage of the differences between the two methods. One does not always have to take a blunt decision between one or the other (English et al., 2006: 289). The benefits of combining methods are numerous as Punch (1988) (in English et al., 2006: 290) suggests:

- A combination of approaches will allow the findings of one study to validate the findings of the other type.
- Quantitative study can be preceded by a qualitative study to investigate the context and background.
- A quantitative approach can bring significant “structural” features to the study, while the qualitative aspect can bring important process elements.
- The quantitative component of the study may uncover relationships between variables, while the qualitative part will help in the understanding of the underlying factors that influence the relationships (Punch, 1988) (in English et al., 2006: 290).

The purpose of this study is to account for the contrasting potential and pace of gentrification in two neighbourhoods. Gentrification is a varied and complex process. The research is aimed at understanding why the process has taken on different forms in two areas. A mixed method approach as the research framework will be best suited to contextualise and interpret the complexity and multifaceted dimensions of the gentrification process.

3.3. RESEARCH PARADIGM

A research paradigm refers to the underlying assumptions that researchers make about how and what they will learn before undertaking a research project (Cresswill, 2003: 6). Kuhn (1977) (in Thomas, 2010: 292) defines a research paradigm as “... a research culture with a set of beliefs, values and assumptions that a community of researchers have in common, regarding the nature and conduct of research”. According to Creswill (2003: 6), researchers make philosophical claims about what knowledge is (ontology), how it is known (epistemology), what values go into it (axiology), how it is written about (rhetoric) and the processes of studying it (methodology). The two competing research paradigms, which can be placed in extreme ends of the continuum, are positivism and social constructionism (Pathirage, Amaratunga and Haigh, 2008: 6):

- Positivism: This position is referred to as the “scientific method” or doing “scientific research” (Creswill, 2003: 7). In other words the world exists externally and its properties should be measured through objective measures and the observer must be independent from what is being observed (Pathirage *et al.*, 2008: 6).
- Social constructionism: This position holds the assumption that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they find themselves. Varied and multiple subjective meanings of individual experiences are developed and the researcher has to focus on the complexity of the different views (Creswill, 2003: 7).

Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2002) (in Pathirage *et al.*, 2008: 8) describes why the understanding of philosophical issues and approaches to research are useful:

- It enables the researcher to take a more informed decision about the research design.
- It helps the researcher to understand which design will work and eliminate those that will not.
- The knowledge on different research traditions enables the researcher to adapt the research design according to the constraints of different knowledge structures (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2002) (in Pathirage *et al.*, 2008: 8).

Gill and Johnson (2002) (in Pathirage *et al.*, 2008: 6) argue that the quantitative approach to research has become synonymous with positivism and the qualitative approach

synonymous with social constructionism. However, Pathirage *et al.* (2008: 10) states that such a polarised view on research philosophies and approaches is increasingly being challenged with the growing disclosure on philosophical and methodological diversity. Cresswill (2003) supports this through the argument that the non-rational alignment between positivism, quantitative methods and deduction, and the opposing alignment of social constructionism, qualitative methods and induction, limits and confuses the research process. As Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2002) (in Pathirage *et al.*, 2008: 8) cites: *“...although there is a clear dichotomy between positivist and social constructionist world views, and sharp differences of opinion exist between researchers about the desirability of methods, the practice of research involves a lot of compromises between these pure positions”*.

In addressing the research question, gentrification as a phenomenon firstly has to be contextualised against objective external factors. It will then be interpreted to produce an understanding of the context and processes whereby the information is influenced. The philosophical assumption underlying this study relies thus both on positivism and social constructionism.

3.4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND STRATEGY

Research design can be defined as a detailed outline of how an investigation will be undertaken. A research design will typically include how data is to be collected, what instruments will be employed, how the instruments will be used and indicate the intended means for analysing the collected data (Business Dictionary: 2013).

According to Yin (2003) (in Van Wynsberghe and Khan, 2007: 3), a research design is an action plan that guides research from the questions to the conclusions. It directs the steps from collecting, analysing and interpreting evidence according to pre-established propositions and units of analysis.

Various research strategies exist and each is generally associated with either a quantitative, qualitative or mixed method research approach (Creswell, 2003: 3). The survey, experiment and case study will be discussed as possible research strategies to determine the appropriateness of application in this study.

The survey is a very old research strategy which may be used for descriptive, explanatory or exploratory purposes that usually involves individual people as the units of analysis (English *et al.*, 2006: 296). Kraemer (1991) (in Glasgow, 2005: 1) identified three characteristics of survey research.

- Survey research is used to quantitatively portray specific characteristics of a given population.
- The data required for survey research is collected from people and are thus mostly subjective.
- Survey research uses a selected sample from the population under investigation, from which the findings can later be generalised back to the population (Kraemer, 1991) (in Glasgow, 2005: 1).

Survey research generally adopts a deductive approach which is associated with a highly structured production and collection of quantitative data that is analysed statistically (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009). The context in which this study is conducted leaves too many variables for the number of observations made. Although, to some degree, the study will rely on statistical analysis of quantitative data, a less structured research design is required. One where the research start with a deductive reasoning approach in identifying the problem and moves on to an inductive process of reason building to gain a richer understanding of the research problem. To base the research solely on a survey research design was therefore not considered as appropriate.

Experimental research design is a systematic and scientific approach in which the researcher manipulates one or more variables (Explorable: 2013). The researcher therefore has control over the change in variables and can manipulate the who, what, when, where and how of the study (Arthurlab, 2012). In the classical experiment two groups are established, an experimental group and a control group. A planned intervention or manipulation is then applied to the experimental group and none to the control group. The dependant variables are measured before and after the intervention to account for the influence of the change (Saunders, *et al.*, 2009).

An experimental research design for this research project was not considered as it is impossible to manipulate and control the amount of variables that affect gentrification in a neighbourhood.

In a research context, the case study is described as “*an analytical description of an event, a process, an institution or a program*”. (Hoaglin *et al.*, 1982) (in English *et al.*, 2006: 314). The case study is widely used in social sciences and management where standard experimental and survey designs are unsuitable because the centrality of the context means that there are too many variables for the number of observations made (Yin, 1981) (in English *et al.*, 2006: 314). English *et al.* (2006: 314) highlights that the case study is an approach that regards the entire case as a unit where the relationships between the features become important.

Stake (1994) (in English *et al.*, 2006: 315) classified the following types of case studies, according to their primary purpose:

- The intrinsic case study: This study is undertaken to gain more insight in a particular case.
- The instrumental case study: This study is undertaken to gain insight into an issue within a particular case, or to refine a theory.
- The collective case study: This study is an extension of the instrumental case study to cover several cases on order to learn more about the phenomenon, population or condition (English *et al.*, 2006: 315).

Regardless of the existence of the different types of case study, none require a specific data collection procedure and researchers can employ various research methods to build or uncover the case (Van Winsberghe and Khan, 2007: 3).

According to Zainal (2007: 4), the advantages of utilising case study as a research strategy includes the following:

- The examination of the data is conducted within the context of its use (Yin, 1984 in Zainal, 2007: 4).
- The differences in terms of intrinsic, instrumental and collective approaches to case studies allow for both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data.
- Detailed qualitative explanations that are often produced in case studies assist in explaining complexities of real life situations which might have not been captured through experimental or survey research (Zainal, 2007: 4).

Despite the advantages of employing a case study strategy, it has also received criticisms. Zainal (2007: 4) describe these as follows:

- Case studies are often accused of a lack of rigour. Yin (1984) (in Zainal, 2007: 5) states that “...*too many times, the case study investigator has been sloppy, and has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions*”.
- Case studies do not provide a substantial base for scientific generalisation due to the small number of subjects.
- Case studies run the risk of being too long and difficult to conduct (Yin, 1984) (in Zainal, 2007: 5). Especially case studies of ethnographic or longitudinal nature can produce a great deal of data over a period of time. This requires systematic management and organisation which can be problematic (Zainal, 2007: 5).

Given the mixed-method approach adopted in this research and the nature of the research question, the case study as research strategy is considered to be most suited to research a complex and varied subject such as gentrification. This is confirmed through the gentrification research conducted by Beauregard (1990), Garside (1993) and Donaldson *et al.* (2013) who specifically focussed on neighbourhood change. They all adopted a mixed-method case study research strategy. The availability of multiple data collection techniques together with the freedom of incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods secures a coherent representation of the subject matter.

To explore the research problem empirically, a comparative case study will be adopted that is largely analysed through qualitative methods with a small quantitative component. The Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant have been selected as the study areas. These neighbourhoods are situated next to each other and have both been exposed to urban change within the Cape Town inner city. Both neighbourhoods were established at the same time and both have been affected by gentrification, but each still portray a different economic, physical and social structure with its own unique community classification (the Bo-Kaap is predominantly Muslim and De Waterkant a gay-village). These two neighbourhoods were chosen to demonstrate the contrasts in the dynamics of neighbourhood change and to reflect the potential for and the pace of gentrification.

The case studies will follow chronologically with three theoretical themes highlighted:

- The contextual historical, cultural and social variations.
- Variations in the roles played by households and developers in initiating and directing reinvestment.
- The significance of neighbourhood identity and community resistance.

These themes will be analysed against the three theoretical explanations for gentrification (discussed in chapter 2) to test gentrification within the study areas. This include the production side explanation for gentrification, the consumption side explanation for gentrification and the contemporary explanations for gentrification.

3.5. PROCEDURE FOR DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

The basic distinction between qualitative and quantitative research is the form of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Quantitative research presents statistical results in the form of numerical or statistical data, where qualitative research presents data as descriptive narration (Thomas, 2010: 303).

Data for the qualitative component of the case study will be gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include community representatives, ward councillors, real estate agents and officials from the city improvement districts that operate or live in the area. Secondary data will be gathered from journal publications, newspaper articles and the Bo-Kaap museum. Data for the quantitative component of the case study will be sourced from secondary data only. This includes census documents, title deed transfers, journal publications and newspaper articles. Information such as resident demographics, housing characteristics and property prices will be sourced in order to demonstrate that the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant have gentrified differently.

The main research tools for data collection in this study are literature reviews and interviews. English *et al.*, (2006: 318) state that the interview is a very important method for data collection in qualitative research as it aims to understand reality from the participant's perspective. There are various types of interviews that range from a relatively unstructured interview, through a semi-structured interview to a structured interview (English *et al.*, 2006: 318). When an unstructured interview is conducted the

researcher asks general questions to initiate the dialogue and maintain momentum of the discussion. As the interview progresses, specific issues will appear which will prompt further questions. (Punch, 1998) (in English *et al.*, 2006: 318). A semi-structured interview is conducted with a pre-determined set of questions but also allows sufficient flexibility to develop particular questions arising from the interview. The structured interview is a standard predetermined set of short questions that requires precise answers (English *et al.*, 2006: 319).

In order to draw on the advantages of both unstructured and structured interview types, the interviews in this research will be conducted in a semi-structured way. To promote consistency a pre-planned set of questions will be prepared for each interviewee. As the interview progresses, each interviewee will be given the opportunity to provide more relevant information in order to add richness and gain a better understanding of the matters discussed during the interview.

The research question is to determine why the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant have gentrified differently. It is therefore important to sketch a background of how gentrification has affected each neighbourhood to date. In order to do this the researcher will pose questions to property specialists in each of the areas. The questions will revolve around the property market, investment opportunities, the type of buyer that is attracted to the area and the restrictions or difficulties experienced in developing property within the area.

Further interviews will be conducted with community representatives and a representative from the City of Cape Town. The researcher will aim to establish how the respective communities view their neighbourhoods and how gentrification is tolerated or resisted. Questions asked will include whether neighbourhood change is encouraged, the importance of preserving community heritage, the community's reaction to property and tax increases and how crime, safety and cleanliness affect each area.

A detailed lists of all the questions posed to the key informants are included under appendices A, B, C, D, E & F. Transcripts of the interviews conducted are included under appendix F.

Punch (1998) (in English *et al.*, 2006: 322) advises that methods of data analysis need to be systematic, disciplined and described in order to trace the conclusions back to the

data. The data analysis in this research will be undertaken through the categorisation and organisation of data according to the three theoretical themes under investigation. This can be described as “open coding” which involves the segmentation of text to which conceptual labels are attached (English *et al.*, 2006: 325). The individual responses from each interview will be treated in the same way and responses will be labelled under each theoretical theme, then compared and lastly interpreted to draw conclusions.

3.6. RESEARCH CREDIBILITY, TRANSFERABILITY, DEPENDABILITY AND CONFIRMABILITY

In qualitative research, credibility is defined as the degree to which data and the subsequent data analysis are believable and trustworthy (Thomas, 2010: 319). The purpose of qualitative research is to describe or understand the area of research from the participants’ perspective. The participants are therefore the only ones that can legitimately judge the credibility of the results (Social Research Methods, 2013). Qualitative research that is valid to the researcher may thus not be valid to the reader, due to the possibility of multiple realities. It is therefore up to the reader to judge the credibility of the research based on his understanding of the study (Thomas, 2010: 319).

Transferability refers to the extent to which the results of qualitative research can be generalised or used in other contexts (Social Research Methods, 2013). From a qualitative perspective the reader is primarily responsible for noting specific details of the research context and methods. A qualitative researcher can enhance transferability by clearly describing the research methods, context and assumptions. The reader who wishes to “transfer” the results to a different context will then be responsible for making a judgement on its appropriateness (Social Research Methods, 2013). The researcher will portray this study against three theoretical themes that have been identified as possible influences in the pace, and potential for gentrification. The context and methods have been described. The researcher is further sensitive to possible biases and the potential of multiple interpretations of reality. The onus is thus on the reader to decide whether this research is related to, or can be applied within another context.

Dependability can be described as reliability, and ensures that there is consistency in research findings, i.e. the same findings will be observed if the process is repeated under similar circumstances (Thomas, 2010: 321). In qualitative research, reliability is

problematic and according to Thomas (2010: 321) practically impossible due to the fact that human behaviour is not static, highly contextual and continuously changing. The research on gentrification is extremely contextual and varied. As recourse in addressing the reliability of this study, the researcher will make sure that the research results are consistent with the data collected.

Confirmability refers to the extent to which research results can be verified by others (Social Research Methods, 2013). Due to the assumption that a qualitative study allows for a unique perspective to the research, confirmability is a process to establish if the researcher has been biased. A strategy to enhance confirmability is to create an audit trail in which the researcher archives all collected data in a retrievable form, should the findings be challenged (Social Research Methods, 2013).

3.7. LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

In conducting interviews for the qualitative part of the research, representatives from various recognised community forums will be interviewed. Due to time constraints and limited resources, the researcher is unable to conduct interviews with a sample of homeowners and inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. The assumption is that these representatives act as the voices for the community and the researcher is relying on their version of community experiences and stories to conduct the qualitative research.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the century, De Waterkant was considered to be fully gentrified, while the Bo-Kaap started to experience its first signs of gentrification. Currently, De Waterkant has solidified its position as one of the most sought after, expensive and exclusive neighbourhoods within the Cape Town inner city. In the Bo-Kaap, the impacts of gentrification are becoming increasingly evident, but development within the neighbourhood has not yet fully been unlocked.

This chapter presents a brief profile of the key informants that were interviewed, followed by a comparative case study of each neighbourhood. Each case study consists of secondary census and property data to highlight the differentiating gentrification status of the two neighbourhoods. Building on that, the theoretical themes (as highlighted in chapter three) are addressed to determine the forces that drove each neighbourhood along a different trajectory and defined gentrification uniquely for each of them.

Finally, a discussion of the case studies will follow to bring the themes and the research findings to a conclusion.

4.2. PROFILE OF KEY INFORMANTS

The key informants that were interviewed are well placed to provide insights into the contextual, historical and cultural uniqueness of each neighbourhood, as well as the portrayal of the significant neighbourhood identity that each area carry. They represent a set of community representatives and stakeholders that are active members within their respective communities.

The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with the following key informants:

- Key informant 1: A resident estate agent of the Bo-Kaap and member of the Bo-Kaap Rate Payers Association.
- Key informant 2: The chairman of the Bo-Kaap Civic Association.
- Key informant 3: A member of the Bo-Kaap Rate Payers Association.

- Key informant 4: A resident estate agent and developer of the Village Hospitality model operating within De Waterkant.
- Key informant 5: A member of the De Waterkant Civic Association and Green Point City Improvement District.
- Key informant 6: A resident tourism manager of De Waterkant and advocate of gay rights.
- Key informant 7: A city and regional planner at the City of Cape Town.

Detailed lists of all the questions posed to the key informants are included under appendices A - F. Transcripts of the interviews are included under appendix G.

Historical information on the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant has been obtained from the Bo-Kaap Museum, newspaper articles and academic journals.

4.3. THE BO-KAAP

4.3.1. THE HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE BO-KAAP

The Bo-Kaap is situated above the Cape Town CBD to the west. This small residential area consists of a mix of colourful Cape Dutch and Georgian-inspired cottages and was established in the second half of the 18th century. It started as a neighbourhood that was home to immigrant artisans and craftsmen of European descent. After slavery was abolished in 1834, many freed slaves moved into the area and took over the houses of immigrants who increasingly began to migrate to the southern suburbs of the city (Bo-Kaap Museum, n.d.: 4).

The area developed as a mixed residential area, but always maintained a characteristically large Muslim presence. The demography of the residents included professionals, artisans and labourers that all played an important role in contributing to the economic and cultural growth of Cape Town. By 1885 the Bo-Kaap was an established neighbourhood; social life in the area was vibrant and included many social, sports and religious related gatherings (Bo-Kaap Museum, n.d.: 5). Informant 1 describes the Bo-Kaap as a village within the city. It is rich in culture and the sense of community

within the neighbourhood is significant and incomparable to other inner city areas where the same “community” feeling does not exist.

When the National Party came in power in 1948, South Africans were separated according to legislated racial categories in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Bo-Kaap was declared a “Malay Group Area” and people that were regarded as non-Malay by the authorities were forced to relocate (Bo-Kaap Museum, n.d.: 6). Unlike District Six, the Bo-Kaap was saved from demolition. The Bo-Kaap remained one of the only sections of the Cape Town inner city that housed non-whites throughout apartheid and according to informant 2, the area today still has a viable “indigenous” community, almost twenty years after the fall of apartheid.

During apartheid, the “Cape Malay” culture was actively promoted by the National Party government in an attempt to promote national segregation and to create an exclusive “Cape Malay” enclave (Bo-Kaap Museum, n.d.: 6). Informant 2 describes that the inhabitants of the Bo-Kaap live under a code of conduct, called “Helmekwas”, translated to “a culture of help” and explains that the people help each other with house maintenance, painting and general repair work. The community’s corner shops are another feature of everyday life in the Bo-Kaap. Most retail outlets are passed down from generation to generation and family businesses act as popular meeting places for social interaction.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, slave owners in the Cape Colony did little to encourage slaves to adopt Christianity. Many slaves were drawn to the Muslim faith and considered it to be the religion that will bring freedom. After religious freedom was granted in 1804, the influence of Islam grew and by 1824 there were two mosques, five prayer rooms and four madressas (Muslim schools) (Bo-Kaap Museum, n.d.: 10).

According to informant 1 mosque is central in establishing the sense of communalism and intangible heritage in the Bo-Kaap. Today, many residents’ daily life and social relationships are organised around prayer and mosque. Mosques have a significant spiritual function and provide spaces for community and social interaction. Currently, there are a total of seven mosques. They vary in their degree of religious activity, but all maintain a firm Islamic value.

4.3.2. THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE BO-KAAP

In a newspaper article, Kardas-Nelson (2012: 3) states that *“in some parts of Bo-Kaap, you are now as likely to meet a young, blonde German-born filmmaker, a skinny-jeans-wearing, soya-cappucino-drinking fashion editor or a Jo’burg business executive as you are an imam or artisan at one of the neighbourhood’s many corner shops”*. The changing social demography of the Bo-Kaap, historically a designated Cape Malay group area, is evident in the shifting ethnic composition of the neighbourhood (Table 1). The decline in the percentage of coloured residents, of which the Cape Malay community typically form part of, is proof that change is taking place and one can interpret it in the light of the Bo-Kaap slowly losing its Cape Malay heritage. However, the coloured community still represents the majority of the residents at 66%. Gentrification within the Bo-Kaap is thus evident, but has not yet reached the “tipping point”. In posing the question as to why this is the case, informant 2 attributed it to the active resistance of the “indigenous” community who withstand the forces of gentrification and choose to remain within the area.

Table 1: Bo-Kaap ethnic composition

Ethnic Group	1996	2001	2011
Black African	2.6%	14.1%	9.0%
Coloured	79.0%	73.1%	66.0%
Indian/Asian	3.8%	6.1%	3.4%
White	2.7%	6.6%	4.3%
Unspecified	12.0%	n/a	17.3%

Source: Researcher’s extracted data from the City of Cape Town official census publications.

The 17.3% unspecified category included in Table 1 is unconfirmed. The 2011 census questionnaire specifically made provision for an “other” category in their questionnaire. This is believed to accommodate people who do not identify with the four distinct racial classification schemes created by the apartheid politicians. Various permutations could be considered; inhabitants who perceive themselves to be Black, but not Black African, Cape Malays that do not identify with either a Coloured or Indian classification; or White inhabitants who think of themselves as simply South Africans without a classification based on skin colour. Only the four distinct classifications have been used for the purposes of this study.

The changing demography of the neighbourhood could further be interpreted as a result of the changing education levels within the area (Table 2). Informant 1 confirmed that the property requirements of the younger generation, who would have had access to better education opportunities, are not necessarily the same as their parents. On the one side, the option of buying property with a garden, swimming pool and lock-up garage are amenities that attract the younger residents to alternative neighbourhoods located in the suburbs. The character change of the inner city in terms of the availability of loft apartments and the “lock-up and go” lifestyle that the inner city neighbourhoods offer is further impacting on the investment patterns of the younger generation of the Bo-Kaap.

The consumption theory for gentrification was discussed under section 2.5.2.2 where different themes for ‘gentrifiers’ and their reasons for gentrifying were highlighted. This occurrence ties in with the consumption explanation for gentrification, where the emergence of a “new middle-class” is created through the post-industrial shift from a manufacturing to a service-based economy in which higher income, better education opportunities and a consumption-driven lifestyle is promoted. In this instance, the reverse effect is true in that the built environment of the Bo-Kaap does not necessarily suit the needs of this existing “new-middle class” (restricted access, no gardens and limited parking) and they opt to relocate elsewhere.

Table 2: Bo-Kaap education levels of adults over 20

Education	1996	2001	2011
No schooling	6.77%	1.8%	0.9%
Some primary	26.16%	12.8%	14.4%
Some secondary	42.81%	37.6%	34.1%
Grade 12 and higher	24.25%	47.9%	50.5%

Source: Researcher’s extracted data from the City of Cape Town official census publications.

The change in education levels will automatically have an impact on household income. This is depicted in the monthly household income extracted from census data sets for 2001 and 2011 (Table 3), which clearly indicates that there has been a significant shift in the Bo-Kaap residents’ monthly income.

Table 3: Bo-Kaap monthly household income

Monthly Income	2001	2011
R 0 - R1 600	25.7%	19.2%
R 1 601 - R 6 400	57.5%	26.9%
R 6 401 - R 25 600	14.8%	37.5%
R 25 601 - R 102 400	1.8%	15.9%
R 102 401 or more	0.2%	0.4%

Source: Researcher's extracted data from the City of Cape Town official census publications.

According to informant 2, the Bo-Kaap residents have historically been considered to be of the working or lower middle class. The changing ethnical composition, education levels and increase in household income depicted in the census data are all characteristics of gentrification taking place.

4.3.3. THE PROPERTY MARKET OF THE BO-KAAP

The characteristics of the built environment of the Bo-Kaap - a location close to the CBD and building stock with a significant historical and architectural heritage, complete with cobbles and narrow lanes are perfect conditions for gentrification to take place.

Properties in the Bo-Kaap mainly consist of colourful semi-detached cottages and a small retail and industrial component towards the periphery of the neighbourhood. Informant 2 states that up until 1980, three quarters of the Bo-Kaap was council owned when restitution started and residents could buy houses from council for about R 1 000. Restoration of the properties followed, although it was not considered to be gentrification or class take-over, but rather the first general upgrade of the area. This refers to incumbent upgrading, discussed under section 2.3.3, as a method of urban renewal where an area is being upgraded but the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood stays the same.

Informant 3 confirms that the Bo-Kaap's unique location and affordability are exactly the factors that attracted him to the neighbourhood in recent years. In the early 1990's property within the Bo-Kaap could be bought at a nominal average rate of R400/m² (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013: 175) for a typical Bo-Kaap semi-detached cottage of approximately 160m² (or R64 000 for the property). Over time, this has increased to an average price of R 1 500 000 in 2013 (Table 4).

Table 4: Bo-Kaap Property Prices from 2009 to 2013

Property Prices	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Number of erf sales	19	29	36	28	27
Average price	R 1 000 000	R 950 000	R 1 000 000	R 999 999	R 1 500 000

Source: Researcher's extracted data from actual property transfers (Property 24 PropIQ Neighbourhood Property Report).

From the interviews with informant 1 and 2, it became apparent that the time for the Bo-Kaap to be seen as a less developed area, in which property bargains should be expected, are no longer applicable. Informant 2 stated that the “gap” to obtain property within the area at a giveaway price, that was available five to ten years ago, has narrowed and subsequently slowed down gentrification. Informant 1 confirms that the property market within the Bo-Kaap has recently slowed down and mentioned that the amount of sales that would have been made in one month about five years ago, could now take up to six months to match. Current property sales consist of a 50-50 split between foreign and local investors (of all races) and informant 1 attributes the decrease in the amount of property transactions to the global recession, in which foreign investment within the area has reduced significantly. Over time, the Bo-Kaap property prices have increased, but in comparing the market values of properties within the Bo-Kaap to other inner city neighbourhoods, it still seems relatively low (Table 5).

Table 5: Average inner city house prices for 2013

Neighbourhood	Price
Bo-Kaap	R11 000/m ²
Gardens	R20 000/m ²
Tamboerskloof	R21 000/m ²
Green Point	R23 000/m ²
De Waterkant	R28 500/m ²

Source: Researcher's extracted data from actual property transfers (Windeed Property Report).

The researcher therefore agrees with informant 1 and 2 that the “gap” is narrowing, but would interpret the existence of a (still) lower property market, as an indication of the pace at which gentrification is occurring within the area.

From an investment point of view, informant 1 states that owning a property within the Bo-Kaap could result in good returns. The Bo-Kaap Civic Association initiated a programme in conjunction with the various inner city English language schools that offer accommodation to foreign students who come to Cape Town to study English. The programme started as a means of empowering the existing community to stay within the area and to maintain ownership of their properties. This has caused an increase in the rental market where monthly rentals of between R 5000 and R 8000 can be achieved for a one-bedroom unit, which is in line with the rental market of the surrounding neighbourhoods where more or less the same rentals are achieved. According to informant 2, there are currently 75 households within the Bo-Kaap that offer accommodation to foreign students. In these instances the students live with the families in their homes. The programme has proven to be very lucrative for the community and contributes as a relief to pressing rates and taxes increases, resulting from the increased property prices.

4.3.4. INVESTMENT INITIATIVES OF THE BO-KAAP

The Bo-Kaap is actively being promoted as a Cape Town tourist attraction, mainly for its physical historical value and significant architectural heritage. Informant 1 states that more or less 75% of the area is still Muslim and the preservation of the culture and Muslim religion is important as these are the factors that complete the tourism experience of the area. The preservation of the original “indigenous” community plays an important role in portraying the community spirit within the neighbourhood and if the people are removed, the area will become like De Waterkant, with only the built environment as evidence of the people who once lived there.

In terms of tourism infrastructure, the Bo-Kaap has a total of nine establishments (hotels, guest houses and bed and breakfasts) that offer accommodation and 10 listed restaurants and eateries, of which most are only open during the day (Table 6). Tourism activities and sightseeing are thus limited to daytime hours and hardly any night time entertainment exists.

In terms of new developments, the City of Cape Town has been assessing a number of proposals for the Bo-Kaap, ranging from large-scale commercial-type developments to those of a more low-key nature, initiated by local residents. In 2003 the city council

drafted *“Bo-Kaap, the Revitalisation Strategy – Phase 1”*. However, the strategy, still today a draft, has been met with resistance from the local community. The fact that there is no existing policy intent to take concrete action in the revitalisation of the area, gives the impression that the city is hesitant to face the community in any redevelopment strategies.

Table 6: Leisure infrastructure within the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant

Facilities	Bo-Kaap	De Waterkant
Hotels	1	3
Boutique Hotels	2	1
Guest House	1	2
Bed & Breakfast	5	5
Restaurants & coffee shops	10	33
Night clubs & Bars	None	10

Source: Cape Town Tourism.

There exists an informal settlement within the Bo-Kaap on the quarry site adjacent to De Waterkant. The informal settlement has been there since the 1980s and according to informant 2, the people that live there has become part of the make-up of the Bo-Kaap. The community considers many of the people living there as decent and does not view them as being opportunistic. They are tolerated within the community and there exists no animosity towards them. Informant 3, however, does not agree and states that the informal settlement is a major concern that has a negative impact on the area.

Informant 2 states that the quarry site has become a terrible eyesore to the city council and to the new developments in De Waterkant that overlook it. There have been numerous attempts to develop the quarry, however, the city council has recently withdrawn their funding of R4.5 million for a development feasibility study. Informant 7 confirmed that there are plans to redevelop the quarry site, but the proposal has not been finalised and no further interaction with the local community has occurred. According to informant 2 the city council knows that the Bo-Kaap is very vocal and that they will be up in arms to oppose any form of capitalist-driven development. Informant 7 acknowledged that the city council expects complaints from the Bo-Kaap residents when development proposals are initiated.

Informant 2 stated that the city council's agenda and the Bo-Kaap's agenda in terms of redevelopment are not the same. The Bo-Kaap is in favour of the re-development of the area, but according to informant 2 it is development that coincides with the community's needs and requirements. He states that the city council's development plans, on the other hand, is purely capitalist driven and that the council is only interested in making profit. This relates to the sub-section under the production-side theory of gentrification (Section 2.5.2.1.3), the "back to the city by capital, not people" which describes it as the preference to make a sound financial investment as the actual reason in the decision to rehabilitate inner city structures. It further ties in with the contemporary explanations for gentrification, discussed under section 2.5.3.1 which links gentrification to new globalism and new urbanism where Global Cities are characterised as cities that require strong infrastructure and a stable socioeconomic system in which it can thrive as an economic centre.

Informant 7 agrees with the statement and confirms that the city council definitely has a mandate to promote economic growth. The intense economic competition and policy directives from the national government force the city to apply entrepreneurial skills to attract investment. However, the fact that the city council has not been able to roll out any large scale development within the area, demonstrates that gentrification in the Bo-Kaap is still largely a result of the classical interpretation of the process - i.e the narrowing rental gap, as discussed under section 2.5.2.1.1 as a production side explanation for gentrification. As well as the consumer behaviour of both the Bo-Kaap residents and the gentrifiers that are moving into the area as a consumption side explanation for gentrification discussed under section 2.5.2.2.

In terms of service delivery, the Bo-Kaap has no City Improvement District (CID), as is the case with the surrounding neighbourhoods of the area. Informant 2 states that the Bo-Kaap cannot afford a CID as it will mean an increase in their rates and taxes. He further states that the fact that all the neighbouring areas have CID's, drives unwanted elements into the Bo-Kaap that subsequently affects crime levels. The Bo-Kaap does have a neighbourhood watch and despite isolated incidents, informant 1 does not consider crime to be a major concern. Informant 2 confirms that crime within the area is not orchestrated and that burgling and mugging mainly occurs due to negligence but informant 3 disagrees and states that crime remains a major concern.

The Bo-Kaap built environment is very congested, very few properties have garages and there is no space for gardens and swimming pools. The reality is that houses in the suburbs offer these amenities and could easily be bought at the same price as a cottage in the Bo-Kaap. Subsequently, this drives the younger generation from the area as the convenience of having a bigger house with a garden is much more attractive. According to informant 1 the younger Muslim generation who have ties to the area are realising the value of investing in the area in order to preserve its heritage. However, they invest in the area but do not necessarily live there, and rent the property to Europeans or foreign students. One therefore has to be realistic and realise that it is not possible to keep the younger generation within the area when more “convenient” living conditions are available in the suburbs. Informant 1 admits that the “indigenous” community add to the unique character of the Bo-Kaap and that their preservation is important, however, she states that change is inevitable and that diversity could benefit the area. Informant 7 agrees that the city’s neighbourhoods operate within a free market system, where people are allowed to buy and sell property where and as they see fit.

4.3.5. THE BO-KAAP NEIGHBOURHOOD IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Given the neighbourhoods physical significance, many forums have campaigned to preserve the unique character and historic value of the neighbourhood over the years. The Bo-Kaap Civic Association, a recognised non-governmental organisation was established to acknowledge the history and lifestyle of the Bo-Kaap residents and is considered to be the most active. The association advocates towards educating the community on the importance of retaining the area’s character and cultural significance.

Over the last thirteen years the Civic Association has run a silent campaign that discourages original homeowners from selling properties within the Bo-Kaap. Informant 2 states that no person in the Bo-Kaap has escaped a knock on their door where somebody is offering to buy their property. Although such practices have reduced somewhat, as a result of increased property prices within the area, people have been offered lots of money for their properties but still declined to sell. This is an indication that there is something that keeps the community loyal to the area and that the campaign is bearing fruit. Informant 2 attributes this to pride, duty, tradition, heritage and religion. According to him, the Bo-Kaap is the cradle of Islam in South Africa. The first mosque and burial sites are situated within the area and this keeps the community within the

neighbourhood. Informant 2 states that the Bo-Kaap is not just a place where cobbles and unique architecture are to be found but that it is a place where roots have been put down.

There is a consistent effort to stop the original inhabitants from selling their properties and this idea is being built into the psyche of the community. From the interview with informant 2 it is clear that there exists a sense of betrayal towards the community when you sell your house. One will therefore find that when people do sell their property, they move over night in order not to confront their neighbours. This discourages the selling of property and slows down the pace of gentrification.

The Civic Association's most recent campaign has been the provision of (and encouragement of providing) student accommodation. This has been an effective tool in empowering the community to withstand increasing economic pressures and has been very successful. In addition to this, the Civic Association is also addressing the issue of inheritance within the community. They are encouraging the community to bequeath their property to only one family member, for example, a son. The will is then drafted in such a way that should the son sell the property that he has inherited, the whole extended family has to share in the proceeds.

Community resistance to practices that do not coincide with local habits, is evident in newspaper articles such as *"The bar that caused all the trouble in historic Bo-Kaap"* (Kardas-Nelson, 2012), *"Businessman abandons Bo-Kaap liquor plan"* (IOL, 2012) and *"Bo-Kaap residents win liquor battle"* (Samodien, 2012). These reports are examples of successful community protests against the selling of liquor within the neighbourhood and maintaining the community's wish to keep the neighbourhood alcohol-free. Initiatives and resistance to change, such as these, are examples of factors that create obstacles for gentrification, lower its potential and slow its pace.

According to informant 1, property rates and taxes have increased by 300% in 2008. The local community is very unhappy about the increasing property prices and the associated impact it has on their rates and taxes. The increase in property prices results in people either leaving the Bo-Kaap because of pull factors (they can now sell property at a much greater value than before) or push factors (they cannot afford the rates and taxes associated with the higher property values). Informant 2 states that the community is

actively being encouraged to object to these high rates. The Civic Association has activated a campaign where all role players are invited to speak to the community in which they can voice their concerns and object within the framework that the city council provides. According to him, the Bo-Kaap is a unique neighbourhood for which this framework is not enough and they are rallying for special dispensation that will exempt the community from the current rates act.

It is clear that many residents are concerned that the demographical changes are eroding the traditional Bo-Kaap culture. With newspaper headlines such as *"We don't want you, Bo-Kaap tells city rich"* (Johnstone, 2001: 10) it is evident that the community is serious about preserving its heritage. Informant 2 states that the Bo-Kaap has never been antagonistic towards other cultures and backgrounds. The area has always been diverse. For him it has more to do with the fact that outside investors who buy into the area often are not aware of the customs and practices that are unique to the neighbourhood. According to him, estate agents only highlight the amenities that the area has to offer but do not make buyers aware of the call for prayer, the children playing in the streets and the "Kaapse Klopse" rehearsing. As a result, many ill-informed buyers move into the area and complain, resulting in conflict. Informant 1 reiterates this and states that she always encourages buyers to do proper research and be aware of the community activities before they buy in the area. According to Informant 3, the local traditions have to be accepted, although they are not always appreciated by the residents from other cultural backgrounds. He confirms that the majority of the so-called gentrifiers do not perceive the preservation of the intangible heritage – the Cape Malay culture and sense of community, as important. It is thus clear that the continual influx of gentrifiers, who share such a view, will eventually change the character of the area and its intangible heritage will be lost. Informant 2 acknowledges that this will be inevitable, but state that as long as there is still an "indigenous" presence within the area, they will continue to resist the forces that threaten them.

Despite this resistance, the Bo-Kaap, the only inner city neighbourhood that has not fully been gentrified, is slowly succumbing to the process. Renovated buildings on the periphery of the neighbourhood are an increasingly evident sign of such processes, but the area still has empty plots and many dilapidated buildings. Informant 2 acknowledges that one cannot stop this change from happening. However, he makes a distinction between constructive and destructive change. According to him, constructive change is

when people move into the area with the intention to stay. Destructive change is when investors come in, buy a house and rent it out for maximum return without any consideration for the fabric of the area. The area's distinct historic value is of great importance and the Cape Town city council will have to consider carefully in which way it will act, managing the community's concerns as well as securing the preservation of the area.

The strength of the community within a neighbourhood thus has an impact on the pace and potential for gentrification. It is clear that a big part of the community in the Bo-Kaap is embedded in the area and has, to a certain degree, control over the accumulation of property. There exists a strong sense of community and the fact that resistance and active campaigns against processes of displacement, such as the student accommodation initiative, does influence the pace and potential for gentrification.

4.4. DE WATERKANT

4.4.1. THE HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF DE WATERKANT

Situated on the slopes of Signal Hill, De Waterkant developed as a neighbourhood between 1793 and 1894. Historically, not much is recorded about the establishment of the neighbourhood, but given its architectural heritage (similar to that of Bo-Kaap), it is clear that the Malay community played an important role in its development. The small neighbourhood grew in the same way as the Bo-Kaap, and consisted of a mix of artisans, craftsmen and freed slaves. It is recorded that the neighbourhood was the type of area where children, irrespective of their race or cultural background, could freely play in the streets, while the rest of the neighbourhood watched on from their verandas (Bo-Kaap Museum, n.d.: 4). When the Group Areas Act was enforced, De Waterkant became a "white neighbourhood" and the so-called black and coloured people had to move from the area.

Theoretically, De Waterkant had the ideal location and consisted of the right characteristics for gentrification to take place. It is in close proximity to the CBD, it has historical building stock and two arterial routes (Somerset Road and Strand Street) that run through the neighbourhood to connect the Cape Town CBD with the middle and upper class Atlantic seaboard neighbourhoods. In the early 1990s a significant inflow of

white, middle-class professional men was observed which started the gentrification of the area (Visser, 2003: 180).

The influx of men into the neighbourhood can be explained against the backdrop of South African consumer attitudes that began to shift towards homosexuality during the late 1980s and early 1990s (Visser, 2003: 178). At that stage, there was no official sanctioning of gay behaviour and homosexuality was gradually tolerated as part of city life. According to informant 6, there have been a couple of gay friendly venues in the Cape Town CBD, but few outright gay bars and clubs that catered exclusively for the gay market. Following the trend of the early 1990s to locate retail and leisure businesses away from the CBD, two bars, a night club and a restaurant, aimed exclusively at the gay market, opened one after the other in De Waterkant.

The influx of gay men in the early 1990s initiated the process of gentrification and regeneration in De Waterkant. Gay men are generally in a great position to invest, and redevelop an area, as they do not necessarily have dependants. The case of De Waterkant is in no way different and confirms the theme of sexuality under the consumption explanation of gentrification, section 2.5.2.2, as a factor in the gentrification of an urban area.

4.4.2. THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF DE WATERKANT

The social demographical data for De Waterkant could not be isolated to reflect the gentrification of the neighbourhood, as the available census data of De Waterkant is recorded and included under census information for the Cape Town CBD. However, in light of the urban regeneration of the Cape Town CBD, the information is relevant and could give an indication of how the demographics have changed over the years (Table 7). From the census data, the majority of residents within the Cape Town CBD are from the black and white ethnical groups. From the interviews with informants 5 and 6 it is clear that the typical De Waterkant resident and investor is Eurocentric.

Table 7: Cape Town CBD ethnic composition

Ethnic Group	1996	2001	2011
Black African	13.4%	21.3%	47.0%
Coloured	9.3%	22.2%	12.0%
Indian/Asian	3.3%	6.3%	4.1%
White	32.8%	50.2%	31.0%
Unspecified	41.3%	n/a	5.6%

Source: Researcher's extracted data from the City of Cape Town official census publications.

The education levels of the residents within the Cape Time CBD have grown significantly within the grade 12 and higher bracket (Table 8). This also explains the shift in income levels (Table 9) that clearly indicates that residents living within the area earn professional salaries and fit the criteria for contributing to the gentrification of the neighbourhood. Informant 5 describes the residents within De Waterkant as well travelled and attracted to the European village-like atmosphere that exist within the area. Informant 6 reiterated this statement by confirming that the majority of residents are of the upper middle class, well educated, with mostly professional careers and are influenced by a strong western culture.

Table 8: Cape Town CBD education levels of adults over 20

Education	1996	2001	2011
No schooling	3.81%	4.1%	0.7%
Some primary	9.48%	10.2%	1.8%
Some secondary	30.02%	19.7%	7.0%
Grade 12 and higher	56.68%	66.0%	90.6%

Source: Researcher's extracted data from the City of Cape Town official census publications.

Table 9: Cape Town CBD monthly household income

Monthly Income	2001	2011
R 0 - R1 600	26.9%	14.9%
R 1 601 - R 6 400	36.1%	11.7%
R 6 401 - R 25 600	22.0%	37.7%
R 25 601 - R 102 400	5.5%	32.1%
R 102 401 or more	9.7%	3.6%

Source: Researcher's extracted data from the City of Cape Town official census publications.

It is thus clear that De Waterkant has succumbed to the process and could be considered as completely gentrified.

4.4.3. THE PROPERTY MARKET OF DE WATERKANT

In comparing property prices from the early 1990s, the average price for a semi-detached typical cottage of approximately 160m² was R336 000, an average price of R2 100/m² (De Wet: 2013). The most recent property sales over the last 12 months show an average price, for a similar sized cottage, of R4 560 000 or R28 500/m² (Table 10). Informant 4 confirms that the property market has grown very fast since the early 1990s and attributes this rapid growth to the extensive refurbishment of the ordinary cottages into luxury homes.

Table 10: De Waterkant property prices from 2009 to 2013

Property Prices	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Number of erf sales	18	8	8	12	5
Average price	R 3 500 000	R 3 162 000	R 2 700 000	R 5 350 000	R 4 560 000

Source: Researcher's extracted data from actual property transfers (Property 24 PropIQ Neighbourhood Property Report).

The last decade has also seen numerous luxury apartment buildings being developed within the area. These developments generally include secure undercover parking and other amenities such as swimming pools and gyms. In reviewing the current listed sectional title properties on the market, the average prices for these units range between R23 000/m² and R28 000/ m². The latest development within the area, The Mirage, which is currently under construction, is marketing their units at an average of R35 000/m² which will surely have an impact on the neighbourhood's property market in future.

In the case of De Waterkant, gentrification is thus an upward class transformation and the creation of affluent space. This relates to the contemporary explanation for gentrification, discussed under section 2.5.3.1., in that the process not only includes the upgrading of old traditional working class housing, but also building projects that are geared towards attracting higher income groups to the area.

Informant 4 states that the rental income for a cottage, range between R7 500 to R40 000 per month. However, long-term rentals are very limited due to the big tourism market within the area and the day rate for short-term rentals could significantly increase the monthly income in the summer season.

The success and growth of the De Waterkant property market has thus placed most of the properties beyond the reach of ordinary Capetonians and the area has increasingly become home to the wealthy and gentrified.

4.4.4. INVESTMENT INITIATIVES OF DE WATERKANT

In 1996, the new South African Constitution was announced and promoted equal rights to all citizens. This included extraordinary provisions for gay rights and triggered the increasing development of gay civil society. The constitutional change had an important impact on the development of a spatial gay identity as the legality of gay facilities enabled capital investment in gay infrastructure on a far more permanent basis (Visser, 2003: 180). Those with most access to financial resources (white men) took advantage of this window of opportunity and invested in the area (Visser, 2003: 180). Since 1996 more restaurants (geared towards the gay market) followed and a significant clustering of gay leisure facilities opened for business, which consolidated De Waterkant's identity as Cape Town's "gay village". The researcher interpret gentrification in this instance as a combination of production and consumption explanations, refer to sections 2.5.2.1.1 and 2.5.2.2. An opportunity for investment and financial growth within the area was identified, coupled with a niche consumer market that had a need to establish a community of acceptance.

The tourism system of South Africa has largely expanded since 1994, with Cape Town as the main beneficiary (Visser, 2003: 169). With the arrival of the "New South Africa", Cape Town has actively positioned itself as the leading city on the continent with regards to tolerance of sexual orientation (Tuckner, 2009: 188). From the interview with informant 6 it is clear that as Cape Town developed into the country's premier tourist destination, it has subsequently also emerged as a key destination for gay male tourists.

Informant 4 describes that the creation of an urban destination with a specific theme is the key to successful urban development. In 1994 the Village Hospitality model was

conceptualised. They used the existing gay niche and complemented it with a tourist accommodation offering. It started with three properties that would become Cape Town's first guest street. From there the concept was advanced and allowed private property owners the opportunity to invest in property and participate in the dynamics of the tourism industry. The concept entails that private properties are bought as second homes by individuals, while the company lets and manages it as tourist accommodation when the owner is not a resident. According to informant 4 the synergy of the existing niche and the tourism offering has worked very well and contributed to the rise in the property market and gentrification of the area. Again, this could be interpreted as a production side explanation for gentrification, refer to section 2.5.2.1., where investment opportunities have carved the way for gentrification to take place.

The fact that tourism was the focus of their investment has meant that someone had to drive the process of keeping the area safe and clean. The company initially provided this service which stirred further redevelopment. 75% of all properties in De Waterkant have undergone some sort of renovation within the first five years of the Village and Life's inception.

Over and above the leisure accommodation provided through the Village and Life, there are a total of 11 additional establishments (hotels, guest houses and bed and breakfasts) situated within the neighbourhood that offer tourist accommodation (Table 6).

The continuing tourist developments in De Waterkant, have led to a self-reinforcing relationship of growth and recurrent redevelopment of the urban fabric (Visser, 2003: 181). Most of the decaying light industrial sites along Somerset Road have either been demolished or converted, with a number of upmarket developments taking its place. De Waterkant was thus "ripe" for gentrification and supported by an economic community that wanted to move to the area.

The mixed-use Cape Quarter development, a product of a large multinational South African financial services firm, is currently the most prominent. It offers a range of upmarket designer shops and houses nine of the neighbourhood's 30 listed restaurants and coffee shops (Table 6). The amount of eateries and designer shopping opportunities within the area boast a unique village atmosphere during the day while at night, the

vibrancy is transferred into an energetic night life with a total of eight listed bars and nightclubs.

The Green Point City Improvement District (GPCID), under which De Waterkant falls, was established in 2001. The implementation of the improvement district has been successful in securing the neighbourhood against crime and grime as well as marketing the assets of the area for both public and private development. Informant 5 has personally driven the proposal to include De Waterkant within the GPCID and received support from the majority of the homeowners of the neighbourhood. He believes in the CID concept and states that it provides an important support structure for the Cape Town municipality. Being under its management promotes business growth, brings enhanced development and increased property values.

In the light of neo-liberal policies adopted within the Cape Town CBD and initiatives like the GPCID, one could conclude that the goal of the redevelopment of the area is not necessarily urban revival per se, but rather an undertaking of whatever is necessary to attract investment. This is evident in the major developments that are being accommodated within the area. It is clear that in this instance the contemporary explanation for gentrification (refer to section 2.5.3) is applicable and indicate how the City of Cape Town's initiatives are reflecting the values of Global City where economic growth coupled with a stable socioeconomic urban structure is the main priority.

The *Village and Life* that to a large extent has added to the gentrification of the area is a private company and informant 4 states that the purpose for their presence is purely business driven in which the particularities of the area have shaped the investment opportunities. The preference to make sound profit thus stands out as an important factor in the decision to rehabilitate inner city areas.

4.4.5. THE DE WATERKANT NEIGHBOURHOOD IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Informant 5 describes the homeowners of the area, either local or foreign, as a well-travelled investor that is attracted to the Eurocentric character and atmosphere of the neighbourhood. The luxury of being able to have a village feeling within the city is further

appealing. Informant 6 confirms that the gay community still has a strong vested interest in the area, although it has somewhat reduced in recent years.

Not all residents and business owners are necessarily positive about the extent to which gentrification and development has taken place within the area. According to informant 6 many gay men have raised their concerns about the change in character that the upmarket business developments are bringing. New shops and entertainment, not exclusively aimed at the gay market, have started to surface and even families with children are moving to the neighbourhood. De Waterkant used to be the select seat of identity for Cape Town's gay community. Although the area is still predominantly gay, the growing demand for property attracted a lot of new investments that have somewhat reduced the exclusive gay identity.

The development of the Cape Quarter, in particular, came under fire from existing business owners that felt that the development was totally out of keeping with the heritage and character of the neighbourhood. At the time of construction, the chairman of the De Waterkant Civic Association expressed his concern regarding the *"extraordinarily cavalier attitude"* of developers in not being sensitive to the heritage of the area (Bramford, 2008: 12). Informant 4 confirms that the development has affected the area negatively. According to him the bulk of the development has been over-extended and it does not contribute to the village atmosphere of the area. Building work nevertheless proceeded, with the developer justifying the construction of the development as a means of unlocking financial growth for the neighbourhood.

Another newspaper article *"De Waterkant high-rise goes ahead"* (2010) reported on the second major mixed-use development, The Mirage, which is being built without the local Civic Association's approval. According to informant 5, there has been a long fight regarding the development. The community's major concern was the volume and height of the development and the negative affect that the bulk has on the character of the area. In a newspaper article, a member of the Civic Association was quoted as saying: *"It hasn't got our blessing. We realise the plans are approved, so good luck to them"* (De Waterkant high-rise goes ahead, 2010). This indicates that the residents of the area do not actively resist any development and allow the upward class movement that is associated with gentrification.

Informant 5 describes that the City of Cape Town has a mandate to create higher densities within the inner city. The communication channels between the community and the city council are therefore very important in order to treat such developments holistically. The city has the obligation to preserve the unique built environment in order to maintain the character of the area, which inherently draws tourism.

De Waterkant has become one of the most expensive neighbourhoods within the inner city. No abandoned or dilapidated buildings are evident and there is hardly an empty plot. The area has become home to an affluent, professional population, who live in a vibrant mix of historically preserved cottages and luxury apartment buildings with numerous entertainment options right at their doorstep.

4.5. DISCUSSION ON THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

In preparing a departure point to account for the differentiating gentrification outcomes of the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant, it is important to highlight the current demographic and property profile of each area to demonstrate that both neighbourhoods have gentrified differently. In terms of ethnicity, the majority of residents of the Bo-Kaap are coloured, which traditionally has ties to the Cape Malay culture. In De Waterkant, the majority of residents are white, and considered to be Eurocentric. Generally, the classical interpretation of gentrification portrays gentrifiers as being white. In the case of the Bo-Kaap, the relevance of a majority of the “indigenous” community, irrespective of their race, that have been able to stay within the area, almost twenty years after apartheid, is more significant in demonstrating that gentrification is occurring at a varying pace. An analysis of the education levels show a higher percentage of education within the upper range for De Waterkant, which simultaneously explains the higher income percentages within the upper income brackets, in comparison to the Bo-Kaap.

In terms of the property market, it is clear that property prices in De Waterkant are significantly higher than that of the Bo-Kaap. The fact that all the properties in De Waterkant have been renovated, compared to the dilapidated state of many buildings within the Bo-Kaap, is proof that the development of De Waterkant has progressed further.

The difference in demographics and property prices are measures to demonstrate the state of gentrification for each area. It is thus clear that the two inner city neighbourhoods have gentrified differently. De Waterkant has fully succumbed to the process while the Bo-Kaap has not yet completely been gentrified.

In researching the forces that drove each neighbourhood along alternate trajectories and defined gentrification uniquely for each of them, three themes are paramount.

First, the historical and cultural context: Although the historical backgrounds, in which both neighbourhoods were established and developed, are similar, the dividing point in time came with the enforcement of the Group Areas Act under the apartheid government. From there, the neighbourhoods were directed on alternate paths; a direction that entrenched the Muslim culture within the Bo-Kaap, while De Waterkant has lost that intangible heritage and was left only with its architectural significance as a reminder of the people that once lived there.

Second, investment opportunities: Even though capital accumulation is central to the process of gentrification, it takes on quite different forms depending on whether developers, governments or households are in command. Building upon an existing tourism and leisure infrastructure, major developers have contributed to the construction of luxury housing and commercial space in De Waterkant. Beauregard (1989: 872) states that the range of possibilities for capital accumulation through property development, established an important base on which gentrification is built. The concept of the rent-gap begins to capture this force while also placing it within the larger context of the uneven development of capitalism. In the Bo-Kaap for instance, hardly any major development (with the exception of the Hilton Hotel on the periphery of the neighbourhood) have been constructed in the last decade. Gentrification in this neighbourhood is mainly household driven. The capitalist underpinnings of property development explain both disinvestment and reinvestment, and by their impact on the economic and political resources of specific racial and class groups they shape and mobilise resistance (Beauregard, 1989: 872); as is the case in the Bo-Kaap.

Third, and last, the significance of neighbourhood identity and community resistance: Community has an important structural role in neighbourhood development, but in a very contingent fashion. In the case of De Waterkant, the emergence of a wealthy gay

community creating a “gay village” atmosphere within the neighbourhood has been the catalyst in attracting tourism and leisure infrastructure. The existence of this community ultimately channelled reinvestment, that resulted in the neighbourhood becoming one of the most exclusive and expensive neighbourhoods within the inner city. Beauregard (1989: 872) states that “...the linking of yuppies and gentrification crystallizes and reinforces the opposition to gentrification”. This is especially true in the Bo-Kaap, where the community is continually resisting major reinvestment and places its focus on the preservation of the neighbourhood’s cultural heritage in order to prevent the “De Waterkant-isation” of the Bo-Kaap. Successful protests against behaviour that does not coincide with the neighbourhood’s conduct have detracted reinvestment and affected the pace at which gentrification is taking place. As Beauregard (1990: 856) states, the potential for gentrification is a function of the nature and strength of the community.

One can then not ignore the dynamic elements which infuse gentrification with contingency. Each neighbourhood has particularities that shape investment opportunities and channel contextual forces into a series of contingent place specific processes. The pace and potential for gentrification will thus be a result of the interaction between context, community and role players that is unique to each neighbourhood.

4.6. CONCLUSION

In recent years, the urban renewal of the Cape Town CBD has impacted the surrounding inner city neighbourhoods. The Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant have each reacted differently to the impacts of urban renewal and subsequently, gentrified differently.

Although the historical context of the neighbourhoods is similar, certain contextual forces drove each neighbourhood on an alternate path of development, of which the Group Areas Act was the catalyst. From there cultural and social differences, a difference in the direction of investment and a difference in neighbourhood identity and community resistance towards processes of gentrification followed.

A case study for each neighbourhood was undertaken with specific focus on the contextual variances to determine the factors that defined gentrification uniquely for each neighbourhood.

The researcher has found that no single theoretical explanation for gentrification can be used to describe the gentrification that has happened in the Bo-Kaap or De Waterkant. From the research undertaken both the consumption and production theoretical explanations for gentrification can be interpreted to explain the gentrification that has taken place in both neighbourhoods. Firstly, in the Bo-Kaap there exist a rent-gap (production side explanation for gentrification) as property prices within the area are still the lowest in comparison to other Cape Town inner city neighbourhoods. The affordability and profitable investment prospects draw gentrifiers to the area. Similarly, consumer patterns (consumption side explanation for gentrification) impacts the neighbourhood with the influx of people wanting to live in the inner city.

An interesting finding regarding the consumption side explanation for gentrification is that consumer patterns within the current Bo-Kaap community is also significant in that younger inhabitants prefer to leave the area and move to the suburbs where there is more space. They are thus effectively acting as gentrifiers elsewhere.

In De Waterkant the combination of a rent-gap (production explanation) and consumption explanation are evident in the fact that during the early 1990's there existed a rent-gap when an influx of middle class professional men moved to the area. This, coupled with consumer attitudes, in a shift towards homosexuality and the need for a designated neighbourhood of tolerance has been the combined catalyst in starting gentrification within the neighbourhood.

In the case of the Bo-Kaap the contemporary explanation for gentrification does not currently play such a big role as the City of Cape Town have not been able to successfully implement neoliberal policies. In De Waterkant on the other hand, the contemporary theoretical explanation is very much applicable. In De Waterkant there is hardly any resistance against neoliberal policies and as a result the area has completely gentrified.

Gentrification does not unfold similarly in the same city. Each neighbourhood has its own particularities and the way in which they are managed will determine the pace and potential for gentrification for each of them.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The restructuring of post-apartheid Cape Town, with the rise of neo-liberal thought and policy-making, gave rise to the urban renewal of the Cape Town CBD. This was part of the rationale for the “new middle-class” households to return to the city and its adjacent inner city neighbourhoods, which ultimately resulted in gentrification but also brought with it the associated challenges.

This study aimed to determine the contrasting potential and pace of gentrification in two Cape Town inner city neighbourhoods. The research undertaking also sought to demonstrate that the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant have gentrified differently and subsequently determined the factors that led each neighbourhood on alternate paths of development and defined gentrification uniquely for each of them. Based on the literature reviewed, secondary data and key informant interviews, the following conclusions were reached:

The neighbourhood demographics and property market information demonstrate that each neighbourhood is at a different stage of gentrification. De Waterkant consists of a population that is highly educated, has high income levels and the properties are amongst the most sought after in the Cape Town inner city. De Waterkant is thus fully gentrified. Although the demographical data in the Bo-Kaap point to a change towards higher education and income levels, it still falls short of De Waterkant. The property market further confirms that gentrification has not yet fully taken place. The average property prices within the Bo-Kaap falls under the lowest of all the inner city neighbourhoods. A rent-gap thus exists, which is central to the theory of production side gentrification.

From a historical perspective, the Group Areas Act directed the future pace and potential of gentrification of each neighbourhood. Under apartheid, De Waterkant was declared a white area, while the Bo-Kaap remained a Cape Malay group area in which the already strong cultural traditions and neighbourhood identity were enforced.

In line with the consumption side theoretical explanation of gentrification, the establishment of a “gay village” initiated through the collective investment of wealthy gay men, and the subsequent tourism and leisure facilities that developed from that, officially started the gentrification of De Waterkant. This has rapidly changed the face of the neighbourhood and occurred without any hindrance. The urban renewal initiatives that emanated in the Cape Town CBD, and the spill-over effect it had on the adjacent neighbourhoods is evident in the establishment of the GPCID that operates within the area. This has fuelled more development, attracted financial institutions and a number of luxury mixed-use buildings that does not seem to bow to any form of objection. From a contemporary theoretical position, this explains that gentrification has gone past the stage of only upgrading traditional working class housing, but rather upward class transformation and creation of affluent space.

Although the current Bo-Kaap demographics (lower income levels) and physical characteristics (affordable houses in need of an upgrade) are ideal for gentrification, there exists a degree of neighbourhood solidarity that preserves the Muslim character and resists gentrification. There is a sense of unity and community, which is evident in the intimate relationships and these strong ties are engraved in the community’s shared culture and religion. Although the neighbourhood is undergoing a stage of transition, the working class housing stock has not yet been transformed by large developers. The current reinvestment is mainly driven by unassisted individual household gentrifiers who seek to live in close proximity to the Cape Town CBD within a relatively well-priced property market (in comparison to other inner city neighbourhoods). The city council has not taken concrete action in the preservation of the Muslim character of the neighbourhood and is seemingly reluctant to formalise a development strategy. As long as the driving force behind the gentrification of the area remains individual households, the process will continue at its current pace.

The pace and potential for gentrification is determined by the contextual particularities, investment opportunities and importantly the nature and strength of the community that actively resists gentrification. Gentrification does not develop as a single process but involves different actors and proceeds with varying consequences.

The researcher thus accepts the research proposition which stated that the existence of a strong community that reacts to, and resists gentrification is likely to slow the pace at which gentrification takes place within a neighbourhood.

In the case of De Waterkant, gentrification is currently an upward class transformation through the creation of affluent space, geared towards attracting higher income groups to the city. It is recommended that new building projects within the neighbourhood are considered attentively, to compliment what is left of the neighbourhoods' architectural heritage. The community organisations of the neighbourhood also need to establish a unified voice to resist unacceptable developments and direct the growth of the neighbourhood with the preservation of its physical heritage as priority.

It has been established that the Cape Town city council is pursuing economic growth within a free market system where anyone can buy and sell property without any cultural or racial prerequisites. In the Bo-Kaap, gentrification has not fully taken its toll. However, if gentrification continues at the current pace the Bo-Kaap will follow a similar path to De Waterkant. It is therefore recommended that the city council, together with a third party, such as a Non-governmental organisation (NGO) or consultancy, raise the community's voice to adopt a new discourse. Not one that is purely Muslim, but one that protects the descendants of slavery and the intangible heritage of this aspect of Cape Town's history. Once that is established, the city council will have to put strategic measures in place to manage and control the future development of the area holistically.

5.2. LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

Secondary census data could not be isolated for De Waterkant specifically, as the available information for this neighbourhood is grouped together with the Cape Town CBD census data. Although the information has been used and considered to be relevant, the researcher relied on the opinion of the key informants to substantiate the findings.

5.3. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The findings and conclusions arising from this research undertaking shows that the Bo-Kaap has not fully succumbed to the process of gentrification. Future research would seek to:

- determine the benefit of preserving the intangible heritage (the culture and people) of the Bo-Kaap community; and
- develop a strategy for the future neighbourhood development of the Bo-Kaap.

REFERENCES

Arthurlab. 2012. *Arthurlab* [online]. Available from:

<<http://arthurlab.tamu.edu/courses/204/13A/PSYC%20204%2013A%20lecture%20notes,%20Topic%2005,%20Experimental%20Research%20Designs.pdf>> [Accessed 30 August 2013].

Atkinson, R. 2005. *Does gentrification help or harm urban neighbourhoods? An assessment of the evidence-base in the context of the new urban agenda* [online].

Available from: <<http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Atkinson-2002-Gentrification-Review.pdf>> [Accessed 22 July 2013].

Atkinson, R. & Kintrea, K. 2000. Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts. *Policy and Politics*, 28(1), 98-108.

Babbie, E.R. 1983. *The practice of social research*. 3rd ed. Belmont: Wadsworth. In: English, J., Fielding, M., Howard, E. & Van der Merwe, N. 2006. *Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Babbie, E.R. & Mouton, J. 2001. *The practice of social research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. In: English, J., Fielding, M., Howard, E. & Van der Merwe, N. 2006. *Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Bell, D. 1973. The coming of postindustrial society: a venture in social forecasting. In: Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. 2008. *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.

Beauregard, R.A. 1986. The chaos and complexity of gentrification. In: Smith, N. & Williams, P. 1986. *Gentrification of the city*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Beauregard, R.A. 1990. Trajectories of neighbourhood change: the case of gentrification. *Environment and Planning A*, 22(7), p. 855-874.

Bo-Kaap Musuem, n.d. *Bo-Kaap Museum*. Cape Town: Iziko Museums.

Botha, P.B. & Viljoen, D. 1992. *Stedelike opgradering: 'n kritiese beskouing met spesifieke verwysing na die Alexandra-projek*. Thesis (Masters). Bloemfontein: University of the Free State.

Bramford, H. 2008. "Monstrous" building angers locals. *Weekend Argus*, 6 December.

Business Directory. 2013. *Business Directory* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/research-design.html>> [Accessed 31 August 2013].

Cameron, S. 1992. Housing, gentrification and urban regeneration policies. *Urban Studies*, 29(1), p. 3-14.

Cape Town Tourism, 2013. *Cape Town Tourism*. Available from: <<http://www.capetown.travel/>> [Accessed 7 September 2013].

City of Cape Town, 2013. *City Statistics and Population Census* [online]. Available from: < <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/Pages/Census2011.aspx>> [Accessed 7 September 2013].

Couch, C. 1990. *Urban renewal: theory and practice*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.

Creswell, J. W. 2003. *Research design: Qualitative & quantitative approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

De Waterkant high-rise goes ahead. 2010. *Cape Times*, 23 November.

De Wet, D. 2013. Personal interview. 22 September 2013. Cape Town.

Donaldson, R., Kotze, N., Visser, G., Park, J., Wally, N., Zen, J. & Vieyra, O. 2013. An uneasy match: neoliberalism, gentrification and heritage conservation in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Forum*, (24)2, p. 173-188.

Doucet, B. 2009. Living through gentrification: subjective experiences of local, non-gentrifying residents in Leith, Edinburgh. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 24(3), p. 299-315.

Doxiadis, C.A. 1966. *Urban renewal and the future of the American city*. Chicago: Public Administration Service.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. & Lowe, A. 2002. Management research: an introduction. 2nd ed. London: Sage. *In*: Pathirage, C.P., Amaratunga. R.D.G. & Haigh, R.P. 2008. The role of philosophical context in the development of theory: towards methodological pluralism. *The Built & Human Environment Review*, (1), p. 1-10.

Engelbrecht, C. 2004. *People and places: An overview of urban renewal* [online] South African Cities Network. Available from:
<www.sacities.net/2004/UrbanRenewalPart1.pdf> [Access 13 August, 2013].

English, J., Fielding, M., Howard, E. & Van der Merwe, N. 2006. *Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Explorable. 2013. *Explorable* [online]. Available from:
<<http://explorable.com/experimental-research>> [Accessed 31 August 2013].

Garside, J. 1993. Inner city gentrification in South Africa: the case of Woodstock, Cape Town. *Geo-Journal*, 30(1), p. 29-35.

Gibson, M. & Langstaff, M.J. 1982. *An introduction to urban renewal*. London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd.

Gill, J. & Johnson, P. 2002. *Research methods for managers*. 3rd ed. London: Sage. *In*: Pathirage, C.P., Amaratunga. R.D.G. & Haigh, R.P. 2008. The role of philosophical context in the development of theory: towards methodological pluralism. *The Built & Human Environment Review*, (1), p. 1-10.

Glasgow, P.A. 2005. *Fundamentals of survey research methodology* [online]. Available from: <http://www.mitre.org/work/tech_papers/tech_papers_05/05_0638/05_0638.pdf> [Accessed 31 August 2013].

Harvey, D. 1989b. From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *In*: Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. 2008. *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.

Hawkins, I.M. 1984. *The Oxford dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heikkila, E.J. 2000. *The economics of planning*. [s.l.] Center for urban policy research.

Hoaglin, D.C. *et al.* 1982. Data for decisions. Cambridge: ABT Books. *In*: English, J., Fielding, M., Howard, E. & Van der Merwe, N. 2006. *Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Investopedia, 2013. *Investopedia* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.investopedia.com/terms/n/neoliberalism.asp>> [Accessed 15 August, 2013].

IOL Property, 2012. *Businessman abandons Bo-Kaap liquor plan* [online]. IOL Property. Available from: <http://www.iolproperty.co.za/roller/news/entry/businessman_abandons_bo_kaap_liquor> [Access 7 September 2013].

Isaac, D. 1996. *Property Development Appraisal and Finance*. New York: Palgrave & MacMillan.

Johnstone, V. 2001. We don't want you, Bo-Kaap tells city rich. *Cape Argus*, 5 April.

Kardas-Nelson, M. 2012. The bar that caused all the trouble in historic Bo-Kaap. *Mail & Guardian*, 19 October.

Kotze, N.J. & Van der Merwe, I.J. 2000. Neighbourhood renewal in Cape Town's inner city: is it gentrification? *Journal of Family Ecology and Consumer Sciences*, 28, p.39-46.

Kraemer, K. L. 1991. *Introduction*. Paper presented at The Information Systems Research Challenge: Survey Research Methods. In: Glasgow, P.A. 2005. *Fundamentals of survey research methodology* [online]. Available from: <http://www.mitre.org/work/tech_papers/tech_papers_05/05_0638/05_0638.pdf> [Accessed 31 August 2013].

Kuhn, T. S. 1977. *The essential tension: selected studies in scientific tradition and change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. In: Thomas, P.Y. 2010. Chapter 4: *Research and methodology design* [online]. Available from: <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4245/05Chap%204_Research%20methodology%20and%20design.pdf> [Accessed 29 August 2013].

Lauria, M. & Knopp, L. 1985. Towards an analysis of the role of gay communities in the urban renaissance. In: Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. 2008. *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.

Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. 2008. *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.

Lemanski, C. 2007. Global Cities in the South: Deepening social and spatial polarisation in Cape Town. *Cities*, 24(6), p. 448 – 461.

Markusen, A. 1981. City spatial structure, women's household work, and national urban policy. In: Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. 2008. *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.

McDonald, D.A. 2008. *World city syndrome: neoliberalism and inequality in Cape Town*. New York: Routledge.

Newman, K., & Wyly, E. 2006. The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies*, 43 (1), 23-57.

Pathirage, C.P., Amaratunga, R.D.G. & Haigh, R.P. 2008. The role of philosophical context in the development of theory: towards methodological pluralism. *The Built & Human Environment Review*, (1), p. 1-10.

Pienaar, W.P. 1984. Stedelike vernuwing: 'n Raamwerk vir beplanning en ontwikkeling. In: Van der Merwe, N.P. *Residential urban renewal in a South African context*. Thesis (Masters). Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, p. 5.

Pirie, G. 2007. Reanimating a comatose goddess': reconfiguring central Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, 18(3), p. 125-151.

Property 24, 2014. *Property 24 PropIQ property report* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.property24.com>> [Accessed 22 August 2014].

Punch, K.F. 1998. *Introduction to social research: quantitative and qualitative approaches*. London: Sage. In: English, J., Fielding, M., Howard, E. & Van der Merwe, N. 2006. Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Rink, B.M. 2008. Community as utopia: reflections on De Waterkant. *Urban Forum*, 19 p. 205 -220.

Sassen, S. 1990. Economic restructuring and the American city. In: Lemanski, C. 2007. *Global Cities in the South: Deepening social and spatial polarisation in Cape Town*. *Cities*, 24(6), p. 448 – 461.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. 2009. *Research methods for business students*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Samodien, L. 2012. Bo-Kaap residents win liquor battle. *Cape Times*, 10 December.

Schaffer, R. & Smith, N. 1986. The gentrification of Harlem. *Association of American Geographers*, 76(3), p. 347-365.

Smith, N. 1979. Toward a theory of gentrification: a back to the city movement by capital, not people. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(4), p. 538-548.

Smith, N. 1982. Gentrification and uneven development. *Economic Geography*, 58: 139-155.

Smith, N. & Williams, P. 1986. *Gentrification of the city*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Social Research Methods, 2013. *Social research methods* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/qualval.php>> [Accessed 3 September 2013].

Stake, R.E. 1994. *The art and craft of case study research*. New York: Sage. In: English, J., Fielding, M., Howard, E. & Van der Merwe, N. 2006. *Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Thomas, P.Y. 2010. Chapter 4: *Research and methodology design* [online]. Available from: <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4245/05Chap%204_Research%20methodology%20and%20design.pdf> [Accessed 29 August 2013].

Thwala, W.D. 2009. *Sustainable development through urban renewal projects: a case of Johannesburg, South Africa. 2009 Conference on green building towards eco-city*. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg

Trudeau, D. [n.d.]. *Gentrification and the central corridor* [online]. Available from: <http://www.maclester.edu/academics/geography/civicengagement/6_gentrification_conclusion.pdf> [Accessed 22 July 2013].

Tuckner, A. 2009. Framing exclusion in Cape Town's gay village: the discursive and material perpetration of inequitable queer subjects. *Royal Geographical Society*, 41(2), p. 186-197.

Van der Merwe, I.J. 1986. *Die stad en sy omgewing: inleiding tot nedersettingsgeografie*. Stellenbosch: Universiteits-Uitgewers en Boekhandelaars.

Van der Merwe, N.P. 2001. *Residential urban renewal in a South African context*. Thesis (Masters). Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Van Wynsberghe, R. & Khan, S. 2007. Redefining case study. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 6(2), p. 1-10.

Windeed, 2013. *Windeed property report* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.windeed.co.za/wpr/>> [Accessed 22 September 2013].

Vigdor, J. 2002. Does gentrification harm the poor? *Brookings-Wharton Papers*, 13, p. 3-17.

Visser, G. 2002. Gentrification and South African cities: towards a research agenda. *Cities*, 19(6), p. 419-423.

Visser, G. 2003. Gentrification: prospects for urban South African society? *Acta Academica Supplementum*, 1, p. 79-104.

Visser, G. & Kotze, N. 2008. The state and new-build gentrification in central Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Studies*, 45(12), p. 2465-2593.

Yin, R. 1981. The case study crisis: some answers. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 26(1), p. 58-65. In: English, J., Fielding, M., Howard, E. & Van der Merwe, N. 2006. *Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Yin, R. 2003. *Case study research: design and methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage. In: Van Wynsberghe, R. & Khan, S. 2007. Redefining case study. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 6(2), p. 1-10.

Yin, R.K. 1984. *Case study research: design and methods*. Thousands Oaks: Sage. In:
Zainal, Z. 2007. *Case study as a research method* [online]. Available from:
<http://eprints.utm.my/8221/1/ZZainal2007-Case_study_as_a_Research.pdf>
[Accessed 30 August 2013].

Zainal, Z. 2007. *Case study as a research method* [online]. Available from:
<http://eprints.utm.my/8221/1/ZZainal2007-Case_study_as_a_Research.pdf>
[Accessed 30 August 2013].

APPENDIX A

BO-KAAP COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How important is it to preserve the intangible heritage (people, Islamic culture and sense of community) for the younger generation within the area?
2. Is the neighbourhood starting to lose its cultural significance and sense of community?
3. Is the existing Muslim/Malay community encouraged to stay within the area?
4. What is the general consensus within the neighbourhood, would people consider selling their property and leaving the area if the price is right?
5. How does the community deal with increasing property rates and taxes?
6. Is the community open to welcome new residents within the neighbourhood?
7. Does the community participate in improving the neighbourhood with regards to safety, cleanliness and general upkeep of the neighbourhood?
8. What is the community's view on the existing informal settlements within the area?
9. Are you aware of any new developments, either private or public, that are planned for the area?

APPENDIX B

DE WATERKANT COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What are the benefits for being part of a city improvement district?
2. Are there any negative aspects?
3. Is there any form of community resistance against major developments within the area?
4. Does the city council pay attention to such complaints?

APPENDIX C

BO-KAAP RESIDENT

1. Would you consider buying property within Bo-Kaap a good investment?
2. What is your main reason for moving into the area?
3. Are there sufficient business development opportunities within the area?
4. Do you feel that you have been welcomed in the neighbourhood and are part of the community?
5. Do you participate in any community activities or gatherings?
6. Does the neighbourhood offer sufficient eateries and restaurants?
7. Do you experience any challenges with regards to crime in the area?
8. How important is it to preserve the intangible heritage (people, Islamic culture and sense of community) within the neighbourhood?

APPENDIX D

DE WATERKANT RESIDENT

1. What made you decide to move into the area?
2. How would you describe the residents of De Waterkant in terms of:
 - a) Ethnic demography
 - b) Financial status
3. Would you say that there is still a strong gay community within the area, or has it reduced?
4. Would you want to see more families move into the area?
5. What is your view on developments such as the Cape Quarter and The Mirage?
How is it influencing the area?
6. Do you experience any crime within the area?

APPENDIX E

PROPERTY SPECIALIST QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your general view on the property market within the area?
2. Would you consider buying property within the area a good investment?
3. What is the average property price for a single dwelling within the area?
4. What is the average rental for a single dwelling within the area?
5. What type of buyer is attracted to the area?
6. What factors are attracting buyers to the neighbourhood?
7. Are you aware of any new developments planned for the area?
8. Are there any restrictions/difficulties experienced in developing within the area?

APPENDIX F

CITY OF CAPE TOWN REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Is there an existing policy/intent to revitalize the Bo-Kaap?
2. What difficulties have been experienced in putting such a policy in action? (Are there any resistance from the local community?)
3. Is there an interest in creating a City Improvement District for the Bo-Kaap?
4. How does the Bo-Kaap crime levels compare to other inner city neighbourhoods within the ward?
5. The Bo-Kaap is known to be a “dry area”, does this have an impact in unlocking development and business potential within the neighbourhood?
6. Do business and restaurants experience opposition in trading within the area in general?
7. How important is it to preserve the intangible heritage (people, Islamic culture and sense of community) within the area?
8. Does the existing community participate in improving the neighbourhood with regards to safety, cleanliness and general upkeep of the neighbourhood?

APPENDIX G

TRANSCRIPTS

INTERVIEW 1

Interviewer: Researcher

Interviewee: Resident estate agent of the Bo-Kaap and member of the Bo-Kaap Rate Payers Association

Date of interview: 9 September 2013, 14h00, Bo-Kaap

Interviewer: What is your general view on the property market within the area?

Interviewee: The Bo-Kaap as a village within the city. It is rich in culture and the sense of community within the neighbourhood is significant and incomparable to other inner city areas where the same “community” feeling does not exist. Recently the property market has slowed down and the amount of sales that would have been made in one month about five years ago, could now take up to six months to match. Current property sales consist of a 50-50 split between foreign and local investors, of all races. The decrease in the amount of property transactions is mainly due to the global recession as foreign investment within the area has reduced significantly.

Interviewer: Would you consider buying property within the area a good investment?

Interviewee: Owning a property within the Bo-Kaap could result in good returns. Investment and growth opportunities in Bo-Kaap is good in the long term and Bo-Kaap house prices will eventually be comparable with De Waterkant. There also exists programmes that have been initiated in conjunction with the various inner city English language schools that offer accommodation to foreign students who come to Cape Town to study English. The programme started as a means of empowering the existing community to stay within the area and to maintain ownership of their properties. The students are mainly from Middle Eastern countries that come here to study English.

You do get the odd investor trying to make a quick buck. I am also an investor. Good money was offered to an apartment and I sold it. If an investment opportunity arise I will look at it from an investment point of view, so if an investor comes along it is his right to make the investment. I do not begrudge an investor buying in an area, however it does provide business for me. I recently bought a municipal apartment at a good price and sold it for a good profit.

Interviewer: ***What is the average property price for a single dwelling within the area?***

Interviewee: Buying property, you will seldom get anything under R 2 million.

Interviewer: ***What is the average rental price for a single dwelling within the area?***

Interviewee: Rental property ranges from R 6000 – R 20 000 for a 1 to 4 bedroom cottage.

Interviewer: ***What type of buyer is attracted to the area?***

Interviewee: A mixture of local and foreign people. Local people who wants to live in close proximity to the CBD and foreign people who like the uniqueness of the neighbourhood. The Bo-Kaap is considered very cosmopolitan.

Interviewer: ***What factors are attracting buyers to the neighbourhood?***

Interviewee: The younger Muslim generation who have ties to the area are realising the value of investing in the area in order to preserve its heritage. However, they invest in the area but do not necessarily live here. They often buy property and rent the property to Europeans or foreign students. One has to be realistic and realise that it is not possible to keep the younger generation within the area when more “convenient” living conditions are available in the suburbs. The property requirements of the younger generation, who would have had access to better education opportunities, are not necessarily the same as their parents. On the one side, the option of buying property with a garden, swimming pool and lock-up garage are things that

attract the younger residents to other neighbourhoods in the suburbs.

Interviewer: ***Are you aware of any new developments planned for the area?***

Interviewee: There is a new private development planned for the area but nothing that I am aware of from the government or City of Cape Town.

Interviewer: ***Are there any restrictions/difficulties experienced in developing within the area?***

Interviewee: The community especially the older generation is not open to new development as they like things the way they were. The older generation, 10 years ago was concerned about cultural activities and that activities around mosque would be jeopardised. In time they saw that it was not a threat and started to accept new races in the area to a certain degree. People of Bo-Kaap lived in the De Waterkant, as it was part of Bo-Kaap, and they fear that the same thing will happen to Bo-Kaap that has happened to De Waterkant.

More or less 75% of the area is still Muslim and the preservation of the culture and Muslim religion is important. This is important for tourism within the area. The preservation of the original “indigenous” community plays an important role in portraying the community spirit within the neighbourhood, however diversity is also a good thing and you get the opportunity to learn about other cultures and religions. When moving in a new area one must be sensitive but the existing community must also have the right attitude towards new people moving into the area. I feel people need to be exposed and have a healthier outlook on life in terms of diversity.

INTERVIEW 2

Interviewer: Researcher

Interviewee: Chairman of the Bo-Kaap Civic Association

Date of interview: 7 October 2013, 11h00, Cape Town

Interviewer: How important is it to preserve the intangible heritage (people, Islamic culture and sense of community) for the younger generation within the area?

Interviewee: The Bo-Kaap is not just a place where cobbles and unique architecture are found but it is a place where roots have been put down. The people of the Bo-Kaap live under a code of conduct, called “Helmekwas”, which means that the people help each other with house maintenance, painting and general repair work. It gives the city a tinge of colour. The more Eurocentric the city can be, they see that as progress. The city is made attractive to outside investors, but it doesn't cater for people of colour. The Bo-Kaap is the only inner city area where people of colour are accommodated. The enclave is worth protecting, not just from an architectural and aesthetical point of view, but from a cultural point of view. It is one of the only and few communities that apartheid has touched, but not destroyed. It is therefore worth saving. It has more value to city council than their rates.

Interviewer: Is the neighbourhood starting to lose its cultural significance and sense of community?

Interviewee: Gentrification started around 1990. The character of the place will eventually erode because of economic forces, the proximity of the area to central town and major attractions. There is nothing new from a global perspective, look at London, New York and Boston. The main challenge is that even though there is an erosion, the tipping point has not been reached and something can still be done to delay it. Up until 1980, three quarters of the Bo-Kaap was council owned. Restitution then started and residents could buy houses from council for about R 1 000. Restoration of the

properties followed, although it was not considered to be gentrification or class take-over, but rather the first general upgrade of the area.

Nowadays, gentrification, which bring with it higher rates are seen as being one of the most destructive mechanisms in Bo-Kaap. The character change in the city with loft apartments and apartments around the Bo-Kaap and market prices impacted the area because people now have choices in more or less the same price range.

Bo-Kaap cannot compete with De Waterkant, due to higher economic demography. Acquisition of the properties in De Waterkant was never fair, and the emphasis in Bo-Kaap is on family life whereas there exist a different mindset in De Waterkant. Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant's interests can never be reconciled. The development of De Waterkant is not a natural process. De Waterkant was part of Bo-Kaap but what has happened there is a miscarriage. Any area that has unjustly removed its residents without compensation is an abortion. De Waterkant is not a community. If you go there in the winter, half of the houses are locked. Overseas investors leave for the colder months and only return in summer. There is no life in those streets.

Interviewer: ***Is the existing Muslim/Malay community encouraged to stay within the area?***

Interviewee: No person in the Bo-Kaap has escaped a knock on their door where somebody is offering to buy their property. Although such practices have reduced somewhat, due to increased property prices, people have been offered lots of money for their properties but still declined to sell. There exists a sense of betrayal towards the community when you sell your house. One will therefore find that when people do sell their property, they move over night in order not to confront their neighbours. This has to do with pride, duty, tradition, heritage and religion. The Bo-Kaap is the cradle of Islam in South Africa. The first mosque and burial sites are situated

within the area and this is what keeps the community within the neighbourhood.

Interviewer: ***What is the general consensus within the neighbourhood, would people consider selling their property and leaving the area if the price is right?***

Interviewee: The campaign not to sell houses is low flying (under the radar) but is active within the area. It is based on a number of issues rather from emotional and psychological factors, than economic factors. The campaign has worked, the tipping scale has not been reached, and people have been offered lots of money so surely something is keeping the community within the area. Otherwise three quarters of Bo Kaap would be gone. There is however a consistent creep and it will always be there. Also, the “gap” to obtain property within the area at a giveaway price, that was available five to ten years ago, has narrowed and subsequently slowed down gentrification.

Interviewer: ***How does the community deal with increasing property rates and taxes?***

Interviewee: There are currently 75 households within the Bo-Kaap that offer accommodation to foreign students. In these instances the students live with the families in their homes. The programme has proven to be very lucrative for the community and contributes as a relief to pressing rates and taxes increases. The community is actively being encouraged to object to these high rates. The Civic Association has activated a campaign where all role players are invited to speak to the community in which they can voice their concerns and object within the framework that the city council provides. However, the Bo-Kaap is a unique neighbourhood for which this framework is not enough and we are currently rallying for special dispensation that will exempt the community from the current rates act.

Interviewer: ***Is the community open to welcome new residents within the neighbourhood?***

Interviewee: The Bo-Kaap has never been antagonistic towards other cultures and backgrounds. The area has always been diverse. For me it has more to do with the fact that outside investors who buy into the area often are not aware of the customs and practices that are unique to the neighbourhood. Estate agents only highlight the amenities that the area has to offer but do not make buyers aware of the call for prayer, the children playing in the streets and the “Kaapse Klopse” rehearsing for example. As a result, many ill-informed buyers move into the area and complain. This results in conflict. I know that one cannot stop this change from happening. However, there is a distinction between constructive and destructive change. Constructive change is when people move into the area with the intention to stay. Destructive change is when investors come in, buy a house and rent it out for maximum return without any consideration for the fabric of the area.

Interviewer: ***Does the community participate in improving the neighbourhood with regards to safety, cleanliness and general upkeep of the neighbourhood?***

Interviewee: The Bo-Kaap cannot afford a CID as it will mean an increase in rates and taxes. The fact that all the neighbouring areas have CID's, drives unwanted elements into the Bo-Kaap that subsequently affects crime levels. The Bo-Kaap does have a neighbourhood watch and despite isolated incidents, crime is not a major concern. Crime within the area is not orchestrated and burgling and mugging mainly occurs due to negligence where people leave stuff in their cars or leave doors or windows open for example.

Interviewer: ***What is the community's view on the existing informal settlements within the area?***

Interviewee: The informal settlement has been there since the 1980s and the people that live there has become part of the make-up of the Bo-Kaap. The community considers many of the people living there as

decent and does not view them as being opportunistic. They are tolerated within the community and there exists no animosity towards them.

Interviewer: Are you aware of any new developments, either private or public, that are planned for the area?

Interviewee: The quarry site has become a terrible eyesore to the city council and to the new developments in De Waterkant that overlook it. There have been numerous attempts to develop the quarry, however, the city council has recently withdrawn their funding of R4.5 million for a development feasibility study. The city council knows that the Bo-Kaap is very vocal and that they will be up in arms to oppose any form of capitalist-driven development.

The city council's agenda and the Bo-Kaap's agenda in terms of redevelopment are not the same. The Bo-Kaap is in favour of the redevelopment of the area, but there is a difference; it is development that coincides with the community's needs and requirements. The city councils development plans, on the other hand, is purely capitalist driven and the council is only interested in making profit.

INTERVIEW 3

Interviewer: Researcher

Interviewee: Member of the Bo-Kaap rate payers association

Date of interview: 8 October 2013, 10h30, Cape Town

Interviewer: Would you consider buying property within Bo-Kaap a good investment?

Interviewee: Yes, absolutely. The Bo-Kaap hosts some of the most affordable housing within the city bowl.

Interviewer: What is your main reason for moving into the area?

Interviewee: The location close to the Cape Town CBD and the associated affordability of the area.

Interviewer: Are there sufficient business development opportunities within the area?

Interviewee: No. Business development opportunities are restricted by the community's preferences.

Interviewer: Do you feel that you have been welcomed in the neighbourhood and are part of the community?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you participate in any community activities or gatherings?

Interviewee: Yes, I do attend the rate payer's general meetings.

Interviewer: Does the neighbourhood offer sufficient eateries and restaurants?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Do you experience any challenges with regards to crime in the area?

Interviewee: Crime within the neighbourhood is a huge problem and it is mainly attributed to the informal settlement in the quarry site situated within the neighbourhood.

Interviewer: How important is it to preserve the intangible heritage (people, Islamic culture and sense of community) within the neighbourhood?

Interviewee: I do not consider it important.

INTERVIEW 4

Interviewer: Researcher

Interviewee: Resident estate agent and developer of the Village Hospitality model operating within De Waterkant

Date of interview: 22 September 2013, 14h00, Cape Town

Interviewer: What is your general view on the property market within the area?

Interviewee: The property market is very good. 18 years ago it grew very fast, with a bit of a dip at a certain stage in the sense that the value add to the original cottages was significantly high and made a big difference.

Interviewer: Would you consider buying property within the area a good investment?

Interviewee: Investment in the area is good. The niche that was created has carried the area and to this day there has been definite growth and the demand to invest in the area. The investment model that was used was to create a destination and add a theme to that. You manage the property and see how you can generate the highest income. The Village and Life chose tourism. The model is based on tourism and resulted in the supply and demand within the area. These are the factors that have increased the property market. Tourism is the biggest factor in the gentrification of the area. It created a niche within the neighbourhood. Historically De Waterkant was a gay area, that niche was already there and the added tourism aspect complemented each other. The idea is to provide a service, where someone could invest in the area and their property would be looked after. Somebody drove the area. Tourism was the focus so it was important to keep the area safe and clean. If somebody drives the area it eliminates the absentee home owner situation.

Interviewer: ***What is the average property price for a single dwelling within the area?***

Interviewee: Property prices can range from R4 million up to R20 million.

Interviewer: ***What is the average rental price for a single dwelling within the area?***

Interviewee: Rental income in the area for cottage ranges between R7500 – R40 000. There exist a big tourism market, long term rentals are thus limited. Short term rentals make out a big part of the rental market.

Interviewer: ***What type of buyer is attracted to the area?***

Interviewee: The gay market is definitely still present, although it has reduced somewhat. I would describe the typical De Waterkant buyer as a well-travelled buyer. Cape Town's charm lies in the old built heritage/architecture and charm. The European feeling appeals to these "well-travelled" buyers. It has character and they like the feel that it creates.

Interviewer: ***What factors are attracting buyers to the neighbourhood?***

Interviewee: The village feeling that the neighborhood creates. Even though it is city living, the luxury of having a village feeling within the city attracts buyers to the area.

Interviewer: ***Are you aware of any new developments planned for the area?***

Interviewee: There are constantly development opportunities being investigated within the area. Currently the far end of Waterkant Street with a development called Somerset Square is on the table. The current question is how high and far this development will extend as it affects the charm of the area. The destination creation with charm and character and a theme is important and will make the whole development work well. This will attract people better and create an identity. The current trend is the interior decorating theme. It coincides with the gay niche as well as the restoration and refurbishment of the old cottages. It is part of the destination and

charm creation and this drives the process of unlocking more potential to the area. The area has become a destination and the location is also ideal to serve the Atlantic seaboard.

INTERVIEW 5

Interviewer: Researcher

Interviewee: Member of the De Waterkant Civic Association and Green Point City Improvement District

Date of interview: 22 September 2013, 14h00, Cape Town

Interviewer: ***What are the benefits for being part of a city improvement district?***

Interviewee: The Green Point CID was the first residential CID area. I drove the proposal to make it a CID. When the Green Point CID started we campaigned to have De Waterkant included as they needed all the support they could get. I believe in the CID structure as it provides an important support structure to the City of Cape Town municipality.

Interviewer: ***Are there any negative aspects?***

Interviewee: Apart from the additional rates and taxes, no. The support that it provides in terms of service delivery is invaluable.

Interviewer: ***Is there any form of community resistance against major developments within the area?***

Interviewee: There has been a long fight regarding the approval of the Mirage development, but that was it and the building continued. One of the biggest complaints of the Mirage is the volume and height. It takes away the character of the area and blocks the view of Table Mountain. I do support the city's mandate of higher densification as there is a bigger and more logical picture in terms of sustainability and transportation etc. However, it is important to communicate with the city in terms of treating new developments within the area holistically and the city has to do the same. The holistical picture is important. The city has the obligation to preserve certain aspects in order to draw tourism. Tourism is one of the biggest sources of job creation. The CBD should be your high rise area and the surrounding areas should reduce in order to preserve the natural

scenery. The current situation creates a scattered effect and this creates a problem.

Interviewer: ***Does the city council pay attention to such complaints?***

Interviewee: Based on the fact that the Mirage development is going ahead, no. The Mirage development is great but too high. The Cape Quarter was also controversial. It is still not clear if the building plans have been passed, it has spoiled the area. It is struggling because it does not have the correct design. Bulk and greed has created insensitivity, it is very important to get the balance correct. The concept of looking at one plot and having the mindset of what the maximum is what I can get from the single plot is not holistic. Cape Quarter development has negatively affected the area. If it was lower, it would have been much more profitable.

INTERVIEW 6

Interviewer: Researcher

Interviewee: Resident tourism manager of De Waterkant and advocate of gay rights

Date of interview: 14 October 2013, 14h00, Cape Town

Interviewer: What made you decide to move into the area?

Interviewee: Location. For work purposes and training purposes due to the area being close to the Atlantic seaboard.

Interviewer: How would you describe the residents of De Waterkant in terms of a) ethnic demography and b) financial status?

Interviewee: a) Mainly white; b) Upper income.

Interviewer: Would you say that there is still a strong gay community within the area, or has it reduced?

Interviewee: It is still very strong.

Interviewer: Would you want to see more families move into the area?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: What is your view on developments such as the Cape Quarter and The Mirage? How is it influencing the area?

Interviewee: It's brilliant, from the designer stores and restaurants in Cape Quarter it attracts a higher caliber of clientele which is great for the area. The Mirage has set a new standard in property development which improves the area greatly in several ways – attracting a higher earning individual who will in turn spend money in the surrounding businesses.

Interviewer: Have you experienced any crime within the area?

Interviewee: Yes – I had my cellphone stolen in my car - while I was still in it! The car guards were involved.

INTERVIEW 7

Interviewer: Researcher

Interviewee: City and regional planner at the City of Cape Town

Date of interview: 26 August 2014, 14h00, Cape Town

Interviewer: *Is there an existing policy/intent to revitalize the Bo-Kaap?*

Interviewee: I know of a proposal to do work within the quarry and revitalize that specifically and remove the squatters from the area. There is nothing other than that that I am aware of. It is almost as if the neighbourhood is the forgotten city. The community also do not complain about dirty streets or trees that need to be trimmed or grass that need to be cut. So if no-one complains nothing will happen. In other neighbourhoods people complain about services and that makes the difference.

Interviewer: *What difficulties have been experienced in putting such a policy in action? (Are there any resistance from the local community?)*

Interviewee: I do not know of any documented resistance, but one can accept that there definitely is resistance from the community if one looks at the resistance against alcohol use and entertainment from newspaper articles. Generally, any development that is not in line with the Muslim culture does attract resistance.

Interviewer: *Is there an interest in creating a City Improvement District for the Bo-Kaap?*

Interviewee: I am not sure. It is not a government driven initiative and the rate payers need to drive this.

Interviewer: *How does the Bo-Kaap crime levels compare to other inner city neighbourhoods within the ward?*

Interviewee: It is nearly impossible to get crime statistics because it is governed nationally and for political reasons they will not disclose such information. We see crime in the area, but it is not serious crimes

and we suspect that it is people that come from the outside. Mostly break-ins in cars and I do not think it is only isolated to the Bo-Kaap. The neighboring areas such as Tamboerskloof also struggle with break-ins. In Bo-Kaap you can walk around outside, people sit on their verandas and there are constantly people outside. The people thus know who should be in the neighbourhood and who not. This makes the area safer in a sense. In summer the kids still play outside until 11pm.

Interviewer: ***The Bo-Kaap is known to be a “dry area”, does this have an impact in unlocking development and business potential within the neighbourhood?***

Interviewee: There is no law that says that you cannot open a restaurant in the area but you most definitely will get resistance from the community. As long as you are respectful people will not interfere.

Interviewer: ***Do business and restaurants experience opposition in trading within the area in general?***

Interviewee: It is difficult for business owners to trade within the area if it does not coincide with Muslim culture.

Interviewer: ***How important is it to preserve the intangible heritage (people, Islamic culture and sense of community) within the area?***

Interviewee: I think there is value to preserve heritage in terms of the built environment but I do not think that we can be held responsible to preserve heritage in terms of culture. It is something that has to be managed socially. Culture also evolves. In the past Muslims were very traditional but in modern times certain traditions have been waved so where does the responsibility lie to preserve that and maintain that? I think the government has a responsibility in preserving the built environment but I do not think it is the city's responsibility to preserve a religious culture to the detriment of economic growth. There is no policy and it is a free market system where people can buy property and live in an area where they

want. Cities do evolve and one should create space for growth. Most of the people own their own houses and having the benefit of owning a property within the area must give them a bit of a head start. However there are lots of the families who will never move from the area.

Interviewer: Does the existing community participate in improving the neighbourhood with regards to safety, cleanliness and general upkeep of the neighbourhood?

Interviewee: There is a neighbourhood watch but in terms of cleanliness and the upkeep of the neighbourhood there does not seem to be a concern from the community. The people do not worry or complain and everyone is responsible for their own upkeep.